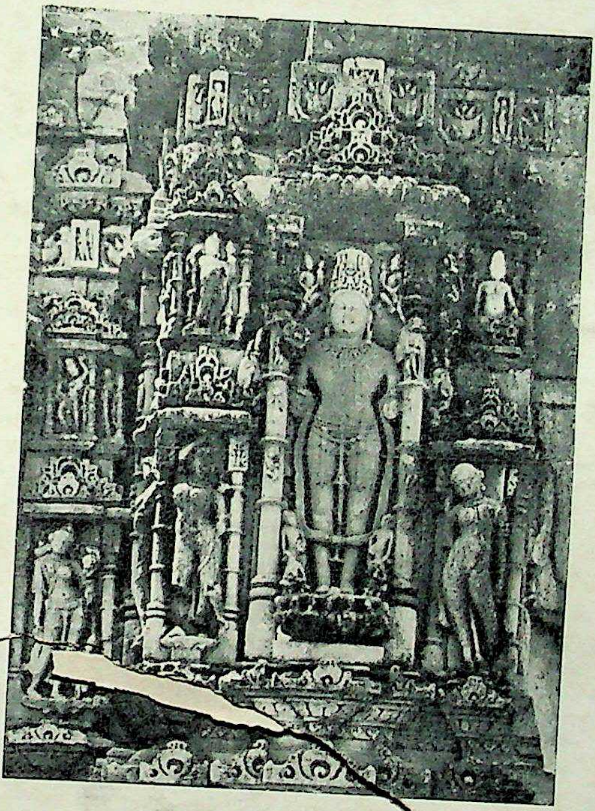
Journal of the oriental institute

M. S. UNIVERSITY OF BARODA, BARODA



Refer to Dr. M. N. Pd. Tiwari's Article

Fig. 2
Moḍherā, Mūlaprāsāda, View from North
[Copyright : American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi]

Edited by
S. G. Kantawala
DIRECTOR,
ORIENTAL INSTITUTE

Oriental Institute
BARODA

Vol. XXXV] March–June 1986 [Nos. 3–4

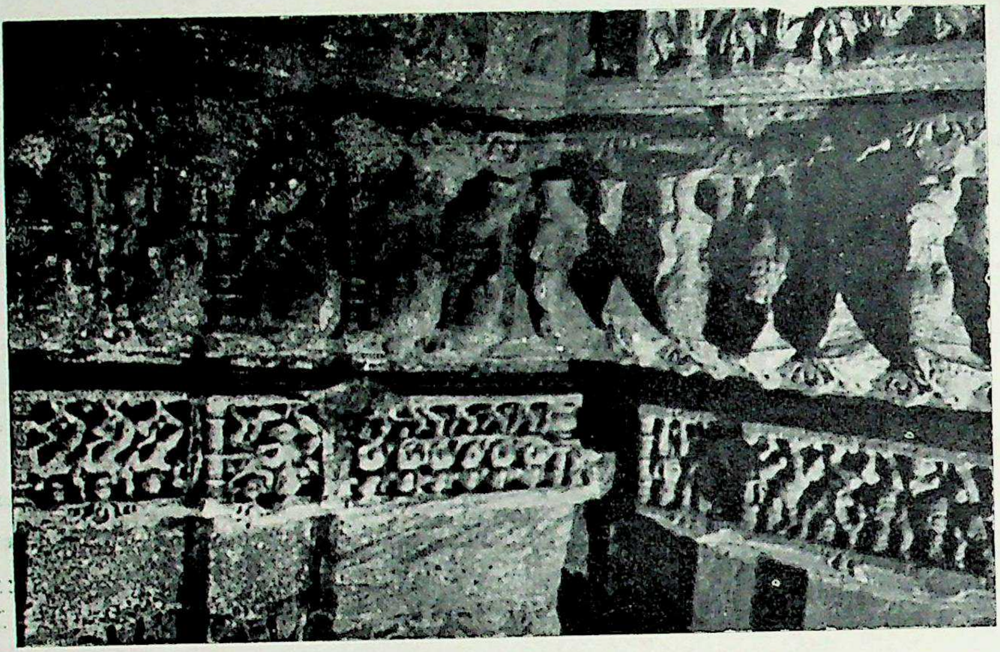


Fig. 3
Southern adhiṣṭhāna of the Garbhagṛha
(Refer to Dr. M. N. Pd. Tiwari's article)

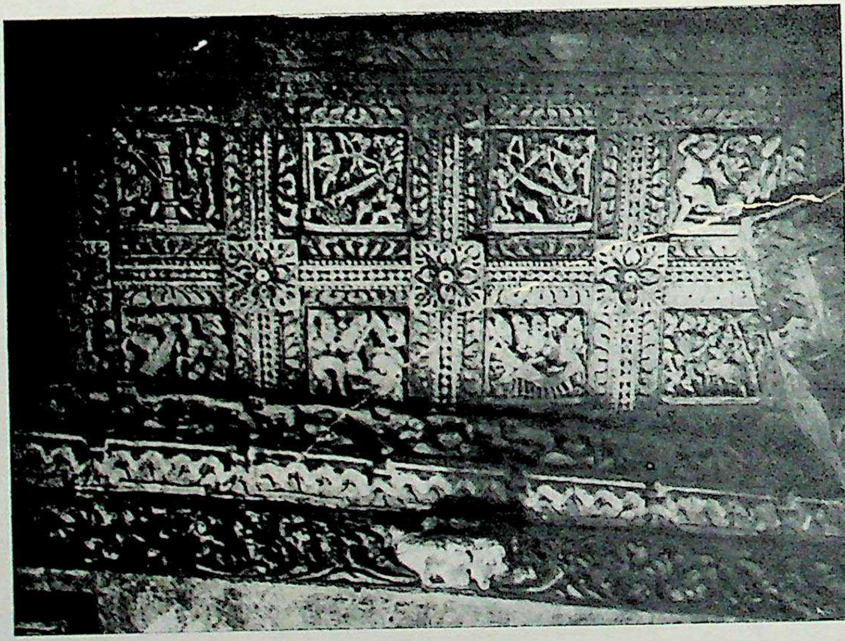


Fig. 4
A ceiling on Nṛtyamaṇḍapa, Modherā
[Photo Copyright : Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi]

CONTENTS

The Concept of Vaikuṇṭha—A Later Development—GAUTAM PATEL 163

Bhavabhūti's Statements About Karuṇa-Rasa ; Do They Imply any Poetic Theory ?—RAJENDRA I. NANAVATI 171

Draupadī's Question—M. A. MEHENDALE 179

Mahābhārata Scenes on the Sun Temple at Moḍherā—M. N. PD. TIWARI 195

Rasakalikālaṅkāra—R. S. BETAI 201

More Light on the Life and Works of Maṅkha and His Influence on Writers for Half a Millennium—B N. BHATT 207

On Two Sanskrit Upasargas—MRINAL KANTI NATH 215

Praśasti of Samudragupta in Purāṇa Texts—S. V. SOHONI 219

Geographical Features as Referred to in Dwārakā—Māhātmya—SARADHA SRINIVASAN 229

A Note on The Place-Names of Vadodara District—INDRA—G. BHAGIA 235

Three Śakti Pīthas of Gujarat—V. T. PADMAJA 241

The Origin and Development of Nana—The Popular Kuṣāṇa Mother-Goddess—ARUN CHANDRA DEB MUNSHI 249

Educational System as We Know from the Inscriptions of the Imperial Guptas—MANABENDU BANERJEE 257

Migrations and Pan-Indic Cultural Forces in Indian History—BHAGWANSINH SURYAVANSHI 265

Bulls Presented by Ambhi to Alexander—APARNA CHATTOPADHYAY 279

A Biscriptal Mughal Inscription from Gujarat—Z. A. DESAI 283

A Survey of Sanskrit Works on the Game of Chess—SIDDHARTH Y. WAKANKAR 293

A Knotty Problem from Gāthāsaptaśatī—V. V. GANGAL 305

Language of the Dasamuhavaho i.e. Setubandha—I. SAIBABA 309

Neopolis Capital of Royal Scythians in Ukraine, U.S.S.R.—W. R. RISHI 311

India's Response to Sufism—Prof. S. A. H. ABIDI 317

Select Contents of Oriental Journals—P. H. JOSHI 339

Reviews 351

Obituary 365

Acknowledgements 367

The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda Press (Sadhana Press),
Near Palace Gate, Palace Road, Baroda-1. June, 1987.

Journal
of the
Oriental Institute
M. S. University of Baroda

Vol. XXXV, Nos. 3-4
March-June 1986

THE CONCEPT OF VAIKUṆṬHA—A LATER DEVELOPMENT *

By

GAUTAM PATEL §

The word *Vaikuṇṭha* (V) is vogue among common men in India now-a-days. Not only Sanskrit but also almost all constitutionally accepted languages of India use this word V and associate it with Lord Viṣṇu's abode. Among the followers of Vaiṣṇava sects V is supposed to be the 'holy basil', and barring some exceptions all desire to attain imperishable V after their departure from this mortal and perishable world. A look at the history reveals the fact that V as the highest abode of Viṣṇu is not known to either Vedic literature or even to early writers of classical Sanskrit literature and even to early *purāṇas*. *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*[1], *Svarga-Khaṇḍa* of *Padmapurāṇa*[2] *and Kṛṣṇa Janmakhaṇḍa* of *Brahma-vaivarta-purāṇa*[3] describe V as the highest abode of Viṣṇu, a place from where no one has to come back to this world.

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 35, Nos. 3-4, March-June '86 issue, pp. 163-169.

* The paper was accepted and presented at the Sixth World Sanskrit Conference, 1984, Philadelphia, U.S.A.

§ Department of Sanskrit, St. Xavier's College, Ahmedabad-380015.

[1] *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* VI-2-14.

[2] *Padmapurāṇa*, *Svargakhaṇḍa* Ch. VI, and *Uttarakhaṇḍa* Ch. XXXIX

[3] *Brahmavaivarta-purāṇa*, *Kṛṣṇa-Janmakhaṇḍa* Ch. 110 th.

The word *Vaikuṇṭha* according to '*A Sanskrit English Dictionary*' by Sir Monier Monier-Williams (p. 1020), has different meanings (1) Name of Indra (*S'Br*., *Kaush.Up*.) (2) Name of Vishṇu (Krishṇa) (*MBh*., *Hariv*. etc.) (3) Statue of Vishṇu ; (4) 24th day in the month of Brahmā, (5) A kind of measure, (6) Name of various men, (7) Name of supposed author of *RV* X, 48-50, (8) A class of gods, (n) (8) Name of Vishṇu's heaven (variously described as situated in the northern ocean or on the eastern peak of mount Meru), (9) Talc (a very soft).[4] The word *Vaikuṇṭha* occurs for the first time in *Ṛgveda* (*RV*) X-47 as a god, while in *RV* X-48 to 50 as a seer. 'Though', according to Dr. V. G. Rahurkar, 'Indra Vaikuṇṭha is said to be the seer of X-48-50, these *sūktas* must have been composed by some *ṛṣi*, perhaps by Saptagu himself and are represented in the form of Indra's own speech'[5].

Sāyaṇācārya, the wellknown commentator of *RV*, gives a story to explain *Vaikuṇṭha* as an epithet of Indra. According to the story, 'there was an asura lady named Vikuṇṭhā. She with a desire to have a son like Indra, performed very severe austerities like *Cāndrāyaṇa* etc. Indra, thinking that none should be born like him, himself got re-born as her son. Hence he is known as Vaikuṇṭha Indra.'[6]

Bṛhaddevatā narrates the same story but calls Āsurī, a demon woman, the daughter of Prajāpati. Moreover after getting born as the son of a demon woman, Indra also inherited demoniac qualities and started troubling gods. Hence gods requested ṛṣi saptagu to bring Indra to his senses and ultimately ṛṣi restored him to his original form.[7]

---

[4] cf. वैकुण्ठीयेऽत्र कण्ठे वसतु मम मतिः कुण्ठभावं विहाय ।
—विष्णुपाद ३४

[5] cf. Dr. V. D. Rahurkar, '*The Seers of the Ṛgveda*', The University of Poona, Poona, 1964, P. 251.

[6] विकुण्ठा नाम असुरी । सा चेन्द्रसदृशं पुत्रं कामयमाना कृच्छ्रचान्द्रायणादिकं तपस्तेपे । मत्सदृशोऽन्यः कश्चिन्मा जनिष्टेति बुद्ध्येन्द्र एव तस्याः पुत्रोऽजायत ।
—सायण, ऋ० वे० १०–४७–१ ऋ० वे० । पूना आवृत्ति । भा० ४, पृ० ४३८

[7] प्राजापत्यासुरी त्वासीद् विकुण्ठा नाम नामतः ।
सेच्छन्तीन्द्रसमं पुत्रं तेपेऽथ सुमहत्तपः ॥ ४९ ॥
देवान्बाधितुमारेभे मोहितोऽसुरमायया ॥ ५४ ॥
बाध्यमानास्तु तेनापि असुरेणामितौजसा ।
उपाधावन्नृषिश्रेष्ठं तत्प्रबोधाय सप्तगुम् ॥ ५५ ॥
स चैनमभितुष्टाव...... ॥ ५७ ॥ —बृहद्देवता — ७, ४९-५७
तथा द्र० विकुण्ठा नामासुरीन्द्रतुल्यं पुत्रमिच्छन्ती महत्तपस्तेपे तस्याः स्वयमेवेन्द्रः पुत्रो जज्ञे । —सर्वानुक्रमणी

In *Śāñkhāyanāraṇyaka* the word *Vaikuṇṭha* once again goes with Lord Indra.[8] The same sentence seems to have been repeated in *Kauṣītaki-brāhman-opaniṣad.*[9] Both maintain that Indra Vaikuṇṭha is embodied in the Wind. *Jaiminīyopaniṣad-brāhmaṇa* also has the word *Vaikuṇṭha* as an adjective for Indra.[10]

The *Kauṣītaki-Brāhmaṇa-Upaniṣad* indirectly identifies Indra Vaikuṇṭha with *Brahman.* Then Bālāki said, ' The person who is in the air, on him, indeed, do I meditate '. To him then Ajātaśatru said, ' Do not make me to converse him. I meditate on him as Indra Vaikuṇṭha, the unconquered army. He who meditates on him thus becomes indeed the triumphant, the unconquerable, a conqueror of others '.[11]

In *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad,* the same type of dialogue is found. The only difference is that the dialogue is between Gārgya and Ajātaśatru instead of Bālāki and Ajātaśatru. A famous commentator Śaṅkarācārya interpretes the word *Vaikuṇṭha* as *aprasahyaḥ*-' unbearable ', and Indra as *parameśvaraḥ*- the highest reality.[12] Here the word *Vaikuṇṭha* is certainly not used as an abode of Lord Viṣnu. Thus all these references undoubtedly prove that the word *Vaikuṇṭha* is invariably connected with God Indra in Vedic Saṃhitās, Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads.

The word *Vaikuṇṭha* meaning loka, an abode, a place or a holy basil of Lord Viṣṇu is found in some of the Upaniṣads but a critical study reveals the fact that all those Upaniṣads comparatively belong to a later period. Scholars would agree that they were purposely written in a later period of history by persons belonging to Vaiṣṇava creed Such Upaniṣads, which refer to *Vaikaṇṭha* as an abode of Lord Viṣṇu are *Ātmaprabodhopaniṣad,*[13] *Kṛṣṇopaniṣad,*[14] *Nārāyaṇopaniṣad,*[15] and *Vāsudevopaniṣad.*[16]

---

[8] वायाविन्द्र वैकुण्ठः । —शां० आं० ६–२

[9] वायाविन्द्र वैकुण्ठः । —कौ० उप० ४–२

[10] इन्द्रो वैकुण्ठो माध्यन्दिने —जै० उप० ४–५–१ द्र० श० ब्रा० १४–५–१–६

[11] स होवाच बालाकिः— ये एवैष वायौ पुरुषस्तमेवाहमुपास इति ।
तं होवाचाजातशत्रुः— मा मैतस्मिन् संवादमिष्ठाः इन्द्रो वैकुण्ठाऽपराजिता सेनेति वा । अहमेतमुपास इति । स यो हेतमेवमुपास्ते । जिष्णुहे वाऽपराजयिष्णुरन्यतस्त्यजायी भवति । —कौ० ब्रा० उप० ४–७
Translation quoted from '*The Principal Upaniṣads*' edited by S. Radhakrishnan, George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 1953, p. 786.

[12] विशेषणम् इन्द्रः परमेश्वरो वैकुण्ठोऽप्रसह्यः । – शंकराचार्य, —बृ० आ- उप० २–१–६

[13] वैकुण्ठं भगवल्लोकं गमिष्यति । —आ० प्र० उप० १

[14] गोकुलवनं वैकुण्ठम् । —कृ० उप० १०, वैकुण्ठं स्वर्गवासिनम् । – कृ० उप० २७

[15] वैकुण्ठभुवनं गमिष्यति । नारा० उप० ५

[16] वैकुण्ठय्थानोद्भवम् — विष्णुचन्दनं वैकुण्ठस्थानादाहृत्य... । —वा० उप० १

Homage is paid to Lord Viṣṇu in various *Sūktas* of *Ṛgveda*. But even traditionally Viṣṇu means the sun. *Nirukta*,[17] *Bṛhaddevata*,[18] Sāyaṇa,[19] and commentators of *Nirukta* viz. Skanda and Maheśvara[20] interpret the word Viṣṇu as the Sun. In *Ṛgveda* I-154-5 and 6 the '*parama pada*' of Viṣṇu is referred to. But it does not mean *Vaikuṇṭha* even according to Sāyaṇa, the famous commentator of *Ṛgveda*[21]

Kaṭhopaniṣad says, "He who has the understanding, for the driver of the Chariot and who Controls, the rein of his mind, he reaches the end of the journey, that supreme abode of all pervading".[22] Here the highest abode of Viṣṇu *Viṣṇoḥ paramaṃ padam* is mentioned but according to the translater it means 'an abode of all-pervading.[23] Here also Śaṅkarācārya does not mention the name of *Vaikuṇṭha* as an abode of Viṣṇu.[24]

The highest abode of Viṣṇu—'*Viṣṇoḥ paramaṃ padam*' is found in many Upaniṣads, but all of them are certainly compositions of a later age, especially by followers of Vaiṣṇava sects.[25]

In *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* the word *Vaikuṇṭha*, in the sense of 'a holy basil of Viṣṇu', is not found at all. On the contrarary '*Svargaḥ*'—heaven is said to be a place from where Viṣṇu descends to this earth. *Gītā* alludes to a *dhāma*-a place from which one need not come back to this earth again, but does not mention *Vaikuṇṭha* by name.[26] Moreover it is interesting to note that Viṣṇu is, no doubt, mentioned, in *Gītā*, but at one place as one of the Ādityas.[27]

---

[17] यास्क, निरुक्त, १२–१८

[18] विष्णातेर्विशतेर्वा स्याद् वेवेष्टेर्व्याप्तिकर्मणः ।
विष्णुर्निरुच्यते सूर्यः सर्वं सवन्तिरश्च यः ॥ —बृ० दे० २–६९

[19] सायण, ऋ० वे० १–१५४–१

[20] स्कन्द–महेश्वर, निरुक्त १२–१८

[21] विष्णोः परमे पदे मध्व उत्सः —ऋ० वे० १–१५४–५ विष्णोः व्यापकस्य परमेश्वरस्य परमे उत्कृष्टे निरतिशये केवलसुखात्मके पदे स्थाने मध्वः मधुरस्य परमानन्दरसस्य सुधारूपस्य उत्सः निष्यन्दो वर्तते । —सायण, ऋ० वे० १–१५४–५ यत्र गावो भूरिशृङ्गा अयासः । —ऋ० वे० १–१५४–६, यत्र येषु वास्तुषु गावः रश्मयः भूरिशृङ्गाः अत्यन्तोन्नत्युपेताः बहुभिराश्रयणीया वा । अयासः अयना गन्तारोऽतिविस्तृताः । यद्वा यासः गन्तारः । अतादृशाः अत्यन्तप्रकाशयुक्ता इत्यर्थः । —सायण, ऋ० वे० १–१५४–६

[22] विज्ञानसारथिर्यस्तु मनः प्रग्रहवान्नरः ।
सोऽध्वनः पारमाप्नोति तद्विष्णोः परमं पदम् ॥ —कठ उप० १–३–९

[23] See Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, '*The principal Upaniṣads*' George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London, 1953, p. 264.

[24] तद्विष्णोः व्यापनशीलस्य ब्रह्मणः परमात्मनो वासुदेवाख्यस्य परमं प्रकृष्टं पदं स्थानम् ।
—शंकराचार्य, कठ उप० १–३–९

[25] तद्विष्णोः परमं पदं यदा पश्यन्ति सूरयः । —नृसिंहपूर्वतापनी उप० ५–१० ;
अरुणेय उप० ५, स्कन्द उप० १५; मुक्तिकोपनिषद् — २–७७;
विष्णोस्तत्परमं पदम् । —तेजोबिन्दु उप० ५

Mahābhārata does mention a word *Vaikuṇṭha* ; but as a synonym of Viṣṇu in *Viṣṇusahasranāma* in *śāntiparva* or elsewhere. Śaṅkarācārya interpretes it in altogether a different meaning.[28] Elsewhere also *Mahābhārata* uses this word *Vaikuṇṭha* as a name of Viṣṇu.[29]

Bhāgavata purāṇa also refers to *Vaikuṇṭha* (1) as an epithet of Viṣṇu[30] and (2) as the heaven of Viṣṇu[31].

When this word *Vaikuṇṭha* became an epithet of Viṣṇu it started assuming altogether a new meaning. 'Viṣṇu has created various types of beings and then he has chanelised or controlled their free movements etc. Hence he is known as *Vaikuṇṭha*'. 'He is the creator of the obstacles of various movements (of beings)'—This is the derivative meaning attached to this word.[32] The same word is explained in another way. 'He who has various *kuṇṭhā* i.e. *māyā* is *Vaikuṇṭha* i.e. Lord Viṣṇu'.[33] This is of course a later development as maxim goes 'the position of whatever is existing must be supported'.[34]

A critical study of classical Sanskrit literature has also revealed the same fact. Bhāsa, the earliest known dramatist, no doubt, refers to incarnations and exploits of Lord Viṣṇu but never mentions *Vaikuṇṭha* as an abode of Viṣṇu. In works of Kālidāsa the word *Svarga* 'heaven' is often alluded to as *loka* or *dhāma*; but nowhere *Vaikuṇṭha* found its place, e.g. the reward of Sacrifice is *Svargaḥ* and not Vaikuṇṭha[35]. Viṣṇu descends from Svarga to this earth and all gods follow him.[36] Daśaratha, the father of Rāma attains Svarga and not Vaikuṇṭha after his death.[37] Śambūka craves for svarga and not for Vaikuṇṭha.[38] Rāma even after his departure reaches to Svarga and creates a new Svarga for his followers.[39] Rāma, an incarnation of Viṣṇu, is informed by a messenger to be back to heaven, as per order of Brahmā.[40]

---

[26] यद् गत्वा न निवर्तन्ते तद्धाम परमं मम । —गीता० १५–६

[27] आदित्यानामहं विष्णुः । —गीता १०-२१

[28] विविधाः कुण्ठाः गतेः प्रतिहतिस्तस्याः कर्ता वैकुण्ठः । —शंकराचार्य, विष्णुसहस्रनाम ५७

[29] महाभारत ६–२१–१५

[30] मन्दं जहास वैकुण्ठो मोहयन्निव मायया । —भा० पु० १–८–४४, तथा द्रष्ट भा० पु० १–१५–४६

[31] ततो वैकुण्ठमगमद्भास्वरं तमसः परम् ॥ —भा० पु० १०–८८–२५

[32] विविधा कुण्ठा गतेः प्रतिहतिस्तस्याः कर्ता इति वैकुण्ठः । अथवा जगदारम्भे विशिष्टानि भूतानि परस्परं संश्लेषयन् तेषां गतिं प्रत्यबध्नादिति वा वैकुण्ठः ।

—वाचस्पत्यम्— पृ० ४९७०

This explanation is offered by Śaṅkarācārya in his commentary of *Viṣṇusahasrānāma*, verse 57.

[33] विविधा कुण्ठा माया यस्य सः । वैकुण्ठं जडञ्च विश्वौघं विशिष्टञ्च करोति वा । विकुण्ठां प्रकृतिं वेदाश्चत्वारश्च वदन्ति ताम् ॥ गुणाश्रयेण भगवान् तस्यां जातः स्वसृष्टये । परिपूर्णतमं तेन वैकुण्ठञ्च विदुर्बुधाः । अथवा विविधा कुण्ठा माया विद्यतेऽस्य वैकुण्ठः ।

[34] स्थितस्य गतिः समर्थनीया ।

All these references are more than enough to prove that in the days of Kālidāsa a concept of *Vaikuṇṭha* as an abode of Viṣṇu was not at all fully established.

Bhavabhūti, another great dramatist of classical Sanskrit literature, mentions '*Vairājā nāma lokāḥ*[41]' or '*asūryā nāma lokāḥ*' and not *Vaikuṇṭha*.[42]

It could be safely concluded from the above references that the word *Vaikuṇṭha* as an abode of Lord Viṣṇu was not known in literature upto the time of Bhavabhūti and that of Śaṅkarācārya in the field of philosophy.

In Vedic literature it is Indra who is described as being born as the son of Vikuṇṭhā while in *Viṣṇu purāṇa* as quoted in *Vācaspatyam*, Lord Viṣṇu is said to be descended as a son of *Vikuṇṭhā*.[43] Bhāgavata also says, 'Viṣṇu was born to Vikuṇṭhā a wife of Śubhra and he created Vaikuṇṭhaloka.[44].

It is interesting to note how a story attached to Indra has been transferred to Viṣṇu. We know that many epithets, exploits or descriptions of Vedic Indra are safely attributed to Viṣṇu in due course of time. Here not only *Vaikuṇṭha*, the name of Indra has been transferred to Viṣṇu but the whole story behind it is also related, with a minor change, as referring to Viṣṇu. It is difficult to prove historically at what date it has happened but that it has happened is a fact. After that to consolidate the position of Viṣṇu or to better justify this process, a new meaning to the word *Vaikuṇṭha* has been attached, and in a still later age a new world by the name of *Vaikuṇṭha* is created. Its detailed descriptions abound in later *Puāṇas* like *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*, *Padmapurāṇa* and *Brahmavaivarta purāṇa*. These descriptions, full of all merits and demerits of puranic styles, are omitted in this paper to save both time and energy. Interested persons may refer to them.

---

[35] कर्म यज्ञफलं स्वर्गस्तासां त्वं प्रभवो गिराम् । —कुमार० २-१२

[36] अन्वगादिव हि स्वर्गो गां गतं पुरुषोत्तमम् । —रघु० १०-७२

[37] रघु० १४-५

[38] रघु० ८-९५

[39] त्रिदशीभूतपौराणां स्वर्गान्तरमकल्पयत् । —रघु० १५-१०१

[40] आचख्यौ दिवमध्यास्व शासनात्परमेष्ठिनः । —रघु० १५-६३

[41] यत्रानन्दाश्च मोदाश्च यत्र पुण्याश्च संपदः ।
वैराजा नाम ते लोकास्तैजसाः सन्तु ते ध्रुवम् ॥ —उत्तररामचरितम् २-१२

[42] अन्धतमिस्रा ह्यसूर्या नाम ते लोकास्तेभ्यः प्रतिविधीयन्ते य आत्मघातिन इत्येवमृषयो मन्यन्ते । -- उत्तररामचरितम् ४-३-३, तुलनीयम्–ईशोपनिषद् ३

[43] चाक्षुसस्यान्तरे देवो वैकुण्ठः पुरुषोत्तमः ।
विकुण्ठायामसौ जज्ञे...... वि० पु०, वाचस्पत्यम् ।

[44] पत्नी विकुण्ठा शुभ्रस्य वैकुण्ठैः सुरसत्तमैः ।
तयोः स्वकलया जज्ञे वैकुण्ठो भगवान स्वयम् ॥ ४ ॥
वैकुण्ठः कल्पितो येन लोको लोकनमस्कृतः ॥ ५ ॥ —भा० पु० ८, ४, ४-५

To the Indian mind Vaikuṇṭha exists even in Vedic literature. Such *ācāryas* who try to prove this have some phrases like *Viṣṇoḥ parame pade madhya utsaḥ*[45] or *yatra gāvo bhūriśṛṅgā ayāsaḥ*[46] at their command. They often quote them and try to associate them with later puranic descriptions of *Vaikuṇṭha*. When asked 'why there is no word *Vaikuṇṭha* mentioned there ?', their answer is "*parokṣapriyā hi devāḥ.*"—Gods like indirect mentioning. Here according to them, the name of *Vaikuṇṭha* as an abode of Viṣṇu is not mentioned in the Vedas or Upaniṣads but it is suggested indirectly by *mantras* mentioned above.

Thus the history of the development of the concept of the word *Vaikuṇṭha* reveals the fact that this word was an epithet of Indra in Vedic literature. In the *Mahābhārata* it was transferred to Viṣṇu as a qualifying noun. This tranfer of property of Indra to Viṣṇu might have taken place during the age of the Guptas, as it is known as a period of Viṣṇu revival, or a period of Brāhmanic revival. But *Vaikuṇṭha*, as an abode of Viṣṇu, has certainly not developed before the time of Śaṅkarācārya or Bhavabhūti, i.e. 9th or 10th century. It can be safely said that along with the development of the *Bhāgavata purāṇa* this thought might have developed.

---

[45] ऋ० वे० १-१५४-

[46] ऋ० वे० १-१५४-६

JOURNAL OF THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE

M. S. UNIVERSITY OF BARODA, BARODA

Editor : **S. G. Kantawala**

The JOURNAL OF THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE, BARODA is Quarterly published in every September, December, March and June.

SPECIAL FEATURES :

Articles on Indology, Vedic Studies, textual and cultural problems of the Rāmāyaṇa, Epic & Purāṇic studies, Notices of manuscripts, Reviews of books, Survey of contemporary Oriental Journals and the publication of rare works forming the Maharaja Sayajirao University Oriental Series, are some of the features of the Journal.

CONTRIBUTORS TO NOTE :

1. Only typewritten contributions will be accepted. Copies should be retained by the authors for any future reference, as no manuscripts will be returned.

2. In the body of the article Non-English stray words/Sanskrit/Prakrit line/verse must be written either in Devanagari or in transliteration with proper diacritical marks.

3. The sources of citations/statements of any authority quoted should be invariably mentioned in the footnotes which must be written in the following order : (1) Surname, initials of the author or editor, (2) Title of the work, (3) Publisher, (4) Place (5) year of publication and (6) Page No.

4. Whenever an abbreviation is used in an article, its full form should be stated at the first occurrence and should not be repeated.

5. Please give running foot-note numbers from the beginning to the end of the article.

6. The copyright of all the articles published in the Journal of the Oriental Institute will rest with the M. S. University of Baroda, Baroda.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES : ANNUAL :

Inland Rs. 30/- (Post-free), Europe £ 3.00 (Post-free)
U.S.A. $ 10.00. (Post-free)

Subscription is always payable in advance. The yearly subscription is accepted from September to August every year. No subscription will be accepted for less than a year. Subscription/Articles be sent to—

**The Director, Oriental Institute, Tilak Road, Opp. Sayajigunj
Tower, Baroda-390 002, Gujarat, India.**

BHAVABHŪTI'S STATEMENTS ABOUT KARUṆA-RASA : DO THEY IMPLY ANY POETIC THEORY ?*

By
RAJENDRA I. NANAVATI †

(I)

One of the later developments in the *Rasa* school of Indian Poetics is the theory of *Rasa*-synthesis. " By *Rasa*-synthesis is meant a reducing of all *Rasa*s to the nature of one, a formulation of one as *Prukṛti* and the rest as its *Vikṛti*s[1]." Thus Abhinava propounds the *Rasa*-synthesis in *Śānta*. He says : *Sarvarasānāṃ śāntaprāya evāsvādaḥ*[2]. More specific is the text of *Nāṭya-śāstra*. *Bhāvā vikārā ratyādyāḥ śāntastu prakṛtirmataḥ*[3]. Bhoja has developed a similar theory in *Alaṁkāra-ṛṅgāra*. Says he :

> तच्च आत्मनोऽहंकारगुणविशेषं ब्रूमः । स शृङ्गारः सोऽभिमानः स रसः । तत एते रत्यादयो जायन्ते ।[4]

Even his *Preman*-synthesis[5] is not different, since *Preman* or *Ātma-rati* is nothing but *Ahaṁkāra*. One Nārāyaṇa has also propounded an *Adbhuta*-synthesis, since all *Rasa*s end in *cittacamatkāra*.[6] In the same line there is also the doctrine of a *Mahārasa* the essential *Rasa*. *eka eva tāvat paramārthato rasaḥ*/[7]

Bhavabhūti is also often mentioned as putting forward the theory of *Karuṇa*-synthesis in the famous stanza of his *Uttara-rāma-caritam* (URC) ;

अहो संविधानकम् ।

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 35, Nos. 3-4, March-June'86 issue, pp. 171-178

* Paper presented at the Sixth World Sanskrit Conference, Philadelphia U.S.A., October, 1984.

† Department of Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit, Faculty of Arts, M. S. University of Baroda.

[1] Raghavan V., *The Number of Rasas*, The Adyar Library, Adyar, Madras, 1940, p. 163.

[2] *Nāṭya-śāstra*, Vol. I, GOS., Baroda, p. 340.

[3] *ibid.*, p. 334.

[4] Raghavan, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

[5] *ibid.*, p. 169.

[6] *ibid.*, p. 173.

[7] *ibid.*, p. 176.

OJ2

एको रसः करुण एव निमित्तभेदाद्
भिन्नः पृथक् पृथगिव श्रयते विवर्तान् ।
आवर्त-बुद्बुद-तरङ्ग-मयान् विकारान्
अम्भो यथा सलिलमेव तु तत्समग्रम् ॥ III. 47.

'It is only the sentiment of tragic which, changing on account of the different causes, assumes as it were, different forms just as water assumes various modifications like eddies, bubble, waves, etc., yet, it is all but water only'. The appropriateness of the verse in the context in which it occurs is unquestionable. Tamasā observes that there is pathos in every character around, though it has assumed different forms. As the commentator Vīrarāghava explains :

एक एव सन्नपि निमित्तभेदाद् सखित्व-पतित्व-पत्नीत्वाद्युपाधिभेदाद् भिन्नः विलक्षण एव पृथक् पृथग् विवर्तान् श्रयते । वासन्ती-सीता-राम-प्रभृतिषु परस्परविलक्षणावस्थाविशेषान् भजति ।[8]

The two words in the verse *vivarta* and *vikāra*, however, also seem to lend a different and extra-contextual dimension to the meaning of the verse. *Vivarta*[9] suggests a philosophical basis in *Vedānta* while *vikāra* has been taken to refer to the author's theory of *Karuṇa*-synthesis. "Bhavabhūti seems to say that there is only one *Rasa*, *Karuṇa*, and that it assumes the different forms called *Śṛṅgāra* etc., even as the same water assumes the forms of whirl, bubble etc. *Karuṇa* is the *Prakṛti* ; the other *Rasa*s are its *Vikṛtī*s".[10] Vīrarāghava himself seems to be the first supporter (or the propounder ? we do not know) of such an interpretation. He says :

इदमत्र कवेर्मतम् । यद्यपि शृङ्गार एक एव रस इति शृङ्गारप्रकाशकारादिमतम् , तथापि प्राचुर्याद्रागिविरागिसाधारण्यात्करुण एक एव रसः । अन्ये तु तद्विकृतय इति ॥[11]

The commentator's reference to the theory of the author of the *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa* makes his interpretation unambiguous. To this, he adds the two arguments of *prācurya* 'abundance' and *rāgi-virāgi-sādhāraṇya* 'being common among worldly as well as other-worldly persons'. The arguments can be countered very easily. *Prācurya* cannot form the basis of a synthesis-theory. Principles are established only on the basis of universality. *Rāgi-virāgi-sādhāraṇya* is not *Karuṇa* which is actually anti-*virāgi* anti-ascetic but *Karuṇā* 'sympathy'. The semantic extension of the word 'sympathy' in English language as "aesthetic response and attunement of heart, *citta-saṁvāda*" is referred to by Raghavan as "linguistic argument in favour of a *Karuṇa*-synthesis"[12], but he rightly rejects the commentator's interpretation. Dr. K. C. Pandey[13] also piles up ten arguments to reject the extra-contextual aesthetic interpretation of the verse. If we, therefore, reject the probability of an implication of the theory of *Rasa*-synthesis in the abovementioned verse, we would not be far from correct.

---

[8] *Uttara-rāma-caritam* (with Vīrarāghava's Commentary), Ed. T. R. Ratnam Aiyar, Nirnayasagar Press, Bombay, 1911, p. 99.

[9] The strictly technical sense of *Vivarta* is probably not intended by Bhavabhūti. He has used the vedāntic term *vivarta* before and after also (cf. *URC*. II. 5 ff., VI. 20). Actually, *vivarta* is only an illusory appearance of modification like *rajju* in *sarpa*. The actual modification like *dadhi* from *dugdha* is called *pariṇāma* : cf.

अवस्थान्तरतापत्तिरेकस्य परिणामिता ।
स्यात्क्षीरं दधि, मृत्कुम्भः, सुवर्णं कुण्डलं यथा ॥
अवस्थान्तरभानं तु विवर्तो रज्जुसर्पवत् । (*Pañcadaśī* 8-9).

[10] Raghavan, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

[11] *URC*, Ed. T. R. Ratnam Aiyar, p. 99.

(II)

Some of the reasons to reject the extra-contextual implications of the verse in question are quite well-known. One is, that Bhavabhūti has made such self-conscious statements and observations at other places also, and he has always made them refer to the context only in which they occur. Such are the statements, for example, like *aho vaidagdhyam*/[14] or *aho sarasaramaṇīyatā saṁvidhānasya* [15] etc. in *Mālatīmādhavam* (*MM*) ; or the rather more obvious remarks of Kāmandakī at the end of Act II of *MM* in the verse *Varényasmin dveṣaḥ* :—etc[16]. Wherein she refers to her accomplishments of a part of her plot in that Act. The self-conscious statement *aho saṁvidhānakam*/ and the verse *eko rasaḥ* etc. also must refer to the context in which they occur—to the excellence of construction and technique of the third Act of *URC* only.

And the claims of Bhavabhūti in this remark are fully justified. The situation of *chāyā-sītā* coming under a plausible pretext to Pañcavaṭī, seeing Rāma after twelve years and realizing his constant love and infinite agony, the device of a two-level reality, alongwith an unquestionable mastery over poetic expression and dialogues, and superb power of emotional delineation do mark out the Act as an ingenious piece of achievement in dramatic technique.

An interpretation of the verse in terms of *Karuṇa*-synthesis will also stand in contradiction with the themes of his other two plays and his own statements thereabout. *Mahā-vīra-caritam* (*MVC*), for example, develops *Vīra* as the principal *Rasa* and Bhavabhūti states clearly in its Prologue *aprākṛteṣu pātreṣu yatra vīraḥ*

---

[12] Raghavan, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

[13] Pandey Prof. Dr. Kanti Chandra, *Indian Aesthetics*, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1959, 2nd ed., pp. 189-191.

[14] *Mālatimādhavam*, I. 32 ff.

[15] *ibid.*, VI. 13 ff.

[16] *ibid.*, II. 11,

sthito rasaḥ.[17] Or *MM*, for that matter, develops *Śṛṅgāra* as the principal *Rasa* and the Prologue to it mentions *auddhatyamāyojitakāmasūtram*.[18] A similar thematic statement is made by Bhavabhūti at the beginning of the third Act itself in that famous verse :

अनिर्भिन्नो गभीरत्वाद् अन्तर्गूढघनव्यथः ।
पुटपाकप्रतीकाशो रामस्य करुणो रसः ॥ (*URC*. III. 1.)

'Not manifest on account of its profoundity, with its deep agony concealed inside, the tragic sentiment of Rāma is comparable to the heating in a closed concavity'. It will be proper, therefore, to interpret the verse *eko rasaḥ* etc. only in conjunction with the above verse, or at the most within the limits of the play itself.

A conspicuous fact may be noted here. In *MVC* and *MM* the thematic statements about the principal *Rasa* of the respective plays are made in the prologues only. There is a propriety in this. In *URC*, however, the statement *rāmasya karuṇo rasaḥ* occurs as late as in the opening of the third Act.

We may also note that the verse *eko rasaḥ* etc. is the last but one in Act III, the last being a sort of a benediction[19] concurrently uttered by Vāsantī and Tamasā who address Rāma and Sītā respectively and wish them weal to be brought about by their divine relatives and sages. When we realize that Bhavabhūti opens the third Act of *URC* with a thematic statement about *rāmasya karuṇo rasaḥ* and closes it—or almost closes it—with a statement about its technique, rounding it up with a benediction, we cannot miss at least this message that between these two statements Bhavabhūti has presented a self-complete theme and has left palpable markers to draw our attention to that theme.

What is that theme ? The theme is *rāmasya karuṇo rasaḥ*. The thesis is that it assumes various forms owing to different causes, under different situations, in different characters. Bhavabhūti has presented the thesis in its essential form in the third Act. But we know that the whole play is about Rāma's *Uttara-carita*, and therefore, the thematic statement *rāmasya karuṇo rasaḥ* must be understood as almost co-extensive with the entire span of the play. Again, the validity of the thematic statement will extend only upto the limits of the play, and will automatically disappear when applied to the other plays as their themes will be different like *rāmasya vīro rasaḥ* or *rāmasya prasannatā* or *rāmasya udāttatā* and so on.

The theoretical implications of Bhavabhūti's two statements about *Karuṇa-rasa* are, it seems, sufficiently clear by now. They are these :

---

[17] *MVC*, I. 3.

[18] *MM*, I. 4.

[19] *URC*, III. 48.

(1) Bhavabhūti cannot have suggested any theory of *Karuṇa*-synthesis, since his statements about *Karuṇa-rasa* are valid only in the context of the play; they would not hold good in the context of his other two plays even if one of them makes *Rama-carita* its theme.

(2) *Rasa* in a drama is the predominant sentiment of its hero, it is the delineation of that sentiment. The play is about Rāma's *uttara-carita*, the theme presented in it is *rāmasya karuṇo rasaḥ*.

(3) Therefore, *Rasa* is an aesthetic fact considered in the context of that particular play.

(4) The sentiment which would be called *sthāyibhāva* in the worldly parlance is called *Rasa* when it comes to be delineated in a play. *Rasa* is not the worldly *sthāyibhāva*, it is the hero's *sthāyibhāva* delineated in the play, it is the aesthetic presentation of that *sthāyibhāva*.

(5) Similarly, some historical event or person may provide some sort of an objective correlative for the poetic theme, but the episode or the character in a play is something quite different from its original; it is entirely a poetic or an aesthetic creation. That is why the same historical character of Rāma becomes for the same poet Bhavabhūti the substratum of *Vīra* in one play, of *Karuṇa* in the other. That is why, again, when Bhavabhūti says *rāmasya karuṇo rasaḥ*, he is referring to Rāma the hero of *URC*, and not Rāma the historical person. The historical person can be the substratum for the worldly sentiments, but *Rasa* has for its substratum the poetic character only.

(6) The technique of delineating this *Rasa* is presenting it either through a high degree of its intensity, or through its various modifications taking place due to different causes like situations etc. The principal sentiment of the hero is made vividly manifest in various forms and is shown to be reflected in manifold ways and colours in different characters. Ultimately, however, it is in its entirety the hero's *Rasa—salilameva tu tatsamagram*. The varied forms and reflections ultimately go to create a structure in which the principal sentiment of the hero stands informed, expressed, revealed in the form of the play.

This can be illustrated very well from *URC* itself. Bhavabhūti pointedly draws our attention to the delineation of *Karuṇa-rasa* in Act III. It is tautologous to say that *rāmasya karuṇo rasaḥ* is presented in it with a very high degree of intensity. But it also illustrates the variety. The various modifications of Rāma's agony are seen in Vāsantī's grief, in Sītā's *Vipralambha-śṛṅgāra*, in Tamasā's sympathy, even in a distinct tension between the feelings of change and continuity in the objects of nature around to which Rāma's change and yet a lack of continuity strike a discordant note.

True, *Karuṇa* is depicted in its almost purest form in Act III, but it is also found in various degrees of intensity in other places of the play. The first half of Act I continuously strikes the tragic chord. The other half is nothing but highly tragic. In Act II, Śambūka's joy at his deliverance and his detachment keep a check on Rāma's agony which gushes forth in Act III in the presence of an intimate friend of the past times of their happy conjugality. Acts I to III are, as if, linked together by Rāma's intense agony, link being *anirbhinno....antargūḍhaghanavyathaḥ rāmasya karuṇo rasaḥ*. The verse *eko rasaḥ* etc., as if ends this intensive form of the tragic of Rāma and heralds other forms of the tragic. In Act IV, the meeting of the elders is tragic, indeed, but even the boisterous dialogue of the students has strongly tragic allusions to Janaka. Even the *Vīra* in the Act V showing the two cousins, unaware of their relation and stationed against each other in their bombastic show of prowess does have a tragic undertone. In Act VI, the tragic of Rāma is mixed with *Vātsalya* and in VII with *Adbhuta*.

(III)

Now, it remains to be seen whether these implications have affinity with some poetic theory.

Among the writers of Sanskrit Poetics the one nearest to Bhavabhūti in point of time is Daṇḍin. He is an *Alaṁkāravādin*. To him, anything that beautifies a poem is *alaṁkāra*, and *Rasa*s as beautifiers of poetry constitute *Rasavad-alaṁkāra*. Thus, he says *seyaṁ ratiḥ śṛṅgāratāṁ gatā. Rūpabāhulyayogena tadidaṁ rasavadvacaḥ.*[20] or *ityāruhya parāṁ koṭiṁ krodho raudrātmatāṁ gataḥ.*[21] *Rati* becomes *Śṛṅgāra* by being combined with a variety of forms; or, rising to a great height, *krodha* becomes *Raudra*. That is *Rasavad*. According to Daṇḍin, therefore, the *Sthāyibhāva*, becomes *Rasa* either by being combined with a variety of forms or by intensification. We have seen that both these techniques are mentioned by Bhavabhūti and exemplified in his own *URC*. Daṇḍin is not talking of anything but the poetic fact only and the *sthāyibhāva*, consequently, must be that of the poetic hero only, and not of anyone outside the poem, i e. not of the historical character. Nor does Daṇḍin show any consideration of the connoisseur's viewpoint.

It will be remembered that Abhinava in his commentary on the *rasa-sūtra*[22] brackets Daṇḍin with Lollaṭa. Lollaṭa propounds the *upacaya*-intensification theory,[23] but his remarks about *vibhāva*s, *anubhāva*s, and *vyabhicārin*s can be shown to imply the technique of variety also. Rather, in his theory, the variety should be understood to achieve an intensified form of the hero's *sthāyibhāva* which itself is *Rasa*. The seat of *Rasa* or intensified *sthāyibhāva* will thus be the hero whom Lollaṭa calls *anukārya* ' the imitable ' from the actor's point of view, since the context of discussion is the drama acted out on the stage. This view regards the literary aspect of the drama as the most important one. Even the staged drama, it cannot be denied, primarily follows the design and characterisation-patterns as presented in the literary text of the play. Therefore, Lollaṭa's is the poetry-centred view of *Rasa*. Or in other words it defines *Rasa* in terms of the aesthetic fact or aesthetic object only.

---

[20] *Kāvyādarśa*, II. 281.

[21] *ibid.*, II. 283.

[22] *Nāṭya-śāstra*, VI. 3.

[23] *ibid.*, p. 272.

This reminds us of Kuntaka, the author of *Vakrokti-jīvita*[24]. His fundamental stand is *kaveḥ karma kāvyam*[25]. His view is entirely poet-oriented, and in his consideration of poetry he scrupulously keeps all extra-poetic facts out.

What is his position regarding *Rasa* ? In the third chapter of his work he describes the poetic material[26] ; he divides it into sentient and non-sentient, again, the sentient into principal i.e. gods etc. and subordinate i.e. animals etc. The principal sentient, says he, should be made beautiful by a proper ' nourishment ' of the clear and spontaneous *ratyādi* :

रत्यादिः स्थायिभावस्तस्य परिपोषः शृङ्गारप्रभृतिरसत्वापादनम , स्थाय्येव तु रसो भवेदिति न्यायात् ।[27]

' When so treated, the emotions like love etc. are raised to the level of sentiments like the erotic etc. ; for, the wellknown rule states that the dominent emotion itself gets transformed into sentiment '. That form of the subordinate sentients and non-sentients should be portrayed which is delightful on account of their incorporation having the capacity to develop *Rasa*. This is the body of the poetic material, brimming with beauty, to be known by the poets as portrayable.

Whether Kuntaka knew Abhinava is not certain. But he definitely knew at least Śaṅkuka and Nāyaka besides Lollaṭa. He is, therefore, not compelled to accept Lollaṭa's explanation unless it naturally arises out of his purely poet-oriented approach to the poetic problem. And he says :

रत्यादिः स्थायिभावस्तस्य परिपोषः शृङ्गारप्रभृतिरसत्वापादनम् , स्थाय्येव तु रसो भवेदिति न्यायात् ।

Not only that, he even suggests some sort of centripetal arrangement of the poetic material in so far as Rasa is ascribed to the principal sentient and all the subordinate sentient and non-sentient elements should be so included as would only help the development of *Rasa*.

---

[24] References to K. Krishnamoorthy's Ed. Dharwar, 1977.

[25] *ibid.*, p. 2.

[26] *ibid.*, III. 1. ff.

[27] *ibid.*, p. 138.

This design of centripetal composition of an aesthetic object is also found in Abhinava. Commenting upon *Nāṭya-śāstra* VI.15 which mentions the eight *Nāṭya-rasas*, he says :

> तत्र नाट्यं नाम... समस्तनाटकाद्यन्यतमकाव्यविशेषाच्च द्योतनीयोऽर्थः। स च यद्यपि अनन्तविभावाद्यात्मा तथापि सर्वेषां जडानां संविदि, तस्याश्च भोक्तरि, भोक्तृवर्गस्य च प्रधाने भोक्तरि पर्यवसानात् नायकाभिधान-भोक्तृविशेष-स्थायिचित्तवृत्ति-स्वभावः।... रस एव नाट्यम्।[28]

'*Rasa* is actable. The actable is the import shining in the entire literary form—drama or any other. Though this actable import is of the nature of numberless excitants etc., yet since all non-sentients end in conscience, the conscience ends in its enjoyer, and the class of enjoyers ends finally in the principal enjoyer, this actable import is of the nature of the permanent mental state of that particular enjoyer called the hero'.

According to even Abhinava, therefore, *Rasa* is the actable import shining forth from the literary piece, and is of the nature of the *sthāyibhāva* of the hero. This is nothing but Lollaṭa in essence. What is the position of the actor in this concept of *Rasa* ? Abhinava says :

> कविगतसाधारणीभूतसंविन्मूलश्च काव्यपुरस्सरो नटव्यापारः।
> सैव च संवित्परमार्थतो रसः।[29]

The activity of the actor follows the poem, and is rooted in the universalised concept of the poet. That concept is, in reality, *Rasa*. Lollaṭa also said : *Rasa* is the *sthāyibhāva* intensified, which primarily resides in the imitable, i.e. the dramatic character (presumably the principal character) of the poem; by identification it may also be in the actor. *Vibhāva*s etc. constitute the technique of objectifying the poetic concept. Actually the poet's concept is the poem's import, which is objectified in the *sthāyibhāva* of the hero, which is imitated by the actor, which cannot reside outside the poem and which is called *Rasa*. These are the fundamental facts that were implied by Bhavabhūti, were hinted at by Daṇḍin, and were propounded albeit not very smartly—by Lollaṭa. Kuntaka showed them as inevitable results of his poetic approach and Abhinava also has undoubtedly accepted and refined them.

An important corollary of this observation is that Abhinava is not an "adverse critic"[30] of Lollaṭa, He, of course, has clarified many implications of Lollaṭa's position, but fundamentally he agrees with Lollaṭa's viewpoint.

---

[28] *Nāṭya-śāstra*, I. GOS. pp. 266-7.

[29] *ibid.*, p. 294.

[30] De S. K. *Sanskrit-Poetics*, Vol. II, Luzac & Co., London, 1925, p. 118.

DRAUPADĪ'S QUESTION*

By

M. A. MEHENDALE §

In the *Mahābhārata* the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas—or rather Śakuni and Yudhiṣṭhira—play the game of dice twice. Towards the end of the first game, Yudhiṣṭhira first stakes his brothers, then himself, and finally Draupadī, and loses all the games. In the game of the dice that takes place between Nala and Puṣkara, the latter suggests to Nala to stake his wife Damayantī,[1], but he does not oblige. Yudhiṣṭhira too could have rejected Śakuni's suggestion to stake Draupadī, but he does not, stakes and loses her, and puts her at the mercy of the Kauravas.

After Yudhiṣṭhira loses Draupadī's stake, many things happen in the Assembly Hall. And all that takes place ends, according to the *Mahābhārata* version available today, as follows : at a particular instant a jackal suddenly began to howl in the Agnihotra hall of Dhṛtarāṣṭra ; he was joined by donkeys and some other ferocious birds. Hearing these ill omens Vidura and Gāndhārī got frightened. They approached Dhṛtarāṣṭra and made him understand the forebodings. Instantly Dhṛtarāṣṭra took Duryodhana to task for having summoned Draupadī to the Assembly Hall, and offered Draupadī a boon of her choice. Draupadī asked, first the freedom from bondage for Yudhiṣṭhira, and, when a second boon was offered her, the freedom of the rest of the four Pāṇḍavas. Dhṛtarāṣṭra offered her a third boon ; but Draupadī politely declined it saying that only two boons were meet for a Kṣatriya woman (*dvau tu kṣatrastriyā varau* 2.63.35).

Reading this account one is inclined to believe that all that was happening in the Assembly Hall came to a halt and the Pāṇḍavas got their freedom due to the howlings of the jackals and the donkeys. Here are a couple of expressions of this belief :

(1) Writing on the *Mahābhārata* in his *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I, Prof. M. Winternitz gives a brief account of the main narrative of the

---

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. No. 35, Nos. 3-4, Sept.-Dec. '85 issue, pp. 179-194

*Dr. P. V. Kane Memorial Lecture delivered at the Asiatic Society, Bombay, December 16, 1985. This is an English version of the author's original article in Marathi published in the Navabhārat, August, 1985.

§ Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona-4.

[1] Mbh. 3.58.3.

epic. When he comes to the end of the incidents in the Assembly, he writes : " Whilst still further speeches are being exchanged, the loud cry of a jackal and other sounds of ill omen are heard in Dhṛtarāṣṭra's house. Terrified by these, the old king Dhṛtarāṣṭra at last feels himself called upon to intervene. " (p. 345). This means that the jackals and the donkeys were responsible for the intervention of Dhṛtarāṣṭra.[1]

(2) Shri Anand Sadhale in his book ' हा जय नावाचा इतिहास आहे ' says at one place : " At this stage Fate, in the form of a donkey, came to the rescue of Draupadī.... One does not know how long this humiliation would have gone on, but just at that moment a donkey began to bray which foreboded evil .... Dhṛtarāṣṭra lost all courage due to those evil signs. He immediately restrained his sons to avoid the evil "[2] (p. 63).

The general belief thus is that the sounds uttered by certain animals foreboding calamity were responsible for putting a stop to Draupadī's humiliation and for freeing the Pāṇḍavas from bondage. This belief is not of recent origin. It is to be met with in the older poetic epitomes of the *Mahābhārata*, Here are a couple of examples :

(1) The *Bhāratamañjarī* : Kṣemendra wrote this poem in the first half of the eleventh century. Kṣemendra's description of the game of dice follows the one in the *Mahābhārata*. When Bhīma uttered his terrible vow to break the thigh of Duryodhana the jackals began to howl and flames of fire, covered with smoke, arose (2.435-437). Noticing these ill omens Vidura and Gāndhārī immediately held consultations with Dhṛtarāṣṭra. Soon Dhṛtarāṣṭra showered his favours on Yudhiṣṭhira and the latter started to go home from Hāstinapura. Kṣemendra does not expressly mention the boons conferred on Draupadī by Dhṛtarāṣṭra, but his description leaves no one in doubt that in his view it was the ill omens which gave a turn to the events happending in the Assembly Hall.

(2) The *Bālabhārata* : Amaracandra's *Bālabhārata* belongs to the thirteenth century. He too narrates that there were ill omens immediately after Bhīma's vow (2.5.61). Then Dhṛtarāṣṭra upbraided his eldest son and offered boons to Draupadī.

Since the order of the events in the Assembly Hall as reported in the *Mahābhārata* itself shows that the boons were granted by Dhṛtarāṣṭra to Draupadī immediately after the occurrence of the ill omens, there is little wonder a similar narration is found in the poetic compositions based on the *Mahābhārata*. Moreover, we find a second allusion in the *Mahābhārata* to these ill omens after the game of dice was over. It is reported this way :

---

[1] Similarly F. Edgerton : " At last evil omens forced Dhṛtarāṣṭra to intervene ". *The Sabhāparvan*, Poona, 1944, p. xxvi.

[२] " अशा प्रसंगी दैव अेका गाढवाच्या रूपानें द्रौपदीच्या साहाय्यास धावून आलें...ही विटंबना आणखी कुठवर चालती न कळे. पण तेवढयांत अेका गाढवानें अशुभसूचक अशा आवाजांत रेकावयास सुरुवात केली. ... धृतराष्ट्राचा धीर त्या अशुभ शकुनानें अेकदम खचला. अशुभाचें निराकरण करण्यासाठीं म्हणून धृतराष्ट्रानें आपल्या पुत्रांना अेकदम आवरिलें. "

After the first game of dice was over, the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas had a second round, and the defeated Pāṇḍavas left Hāstināpura for a twelve year's exile. In the capital, Dhṛtarāṣṭra began to feel nervous. Seeing his plight Saṁjaya said to him : " In spite of the protests of Bhīṣma and the others, Duryodhana forced Draupadī to come to the Assembly Hall. (You did not stop him then). You yourself have brought about this calamity. (Why do you feel nervous now ?) " Dhṛtarāṣṭra replied : " When the moment of disaster arrives, one is off one's guard. That is what happened to me. The children behaved stupidly and dragged Draupadī to the Hall. Duryodhana and Karṇa reviled her.[1] Then there were many bad omens. On the advice of Vidura I offered boons to Draupadī " (2.72.1-25).

Thus by repeating the mention of the occurrence of bad omens the *Mahābhārata* has provided for calling Dhṛtarāṣṭra himself to witness, should someone doubt that the events in the *Sabhā* took a dramatic turn on account of the cries of jackals and asses. The Pune edition of the *Mahābhārata* has admitted into the critical text the stanzas of bad omens at both the places in the *Sabhāparvan*. Nevertheless we have to look upon them as interpolations. For, if we do not, we have to assume that the basic question raised by Draupadī regarding her social status remained unresolved to the end. Apparently everybody seems to be convinced about this. Here are a few examples of this conviction :

(1) Prof. N. R. Phatak, in the first Volume of the new edition[2] of the Chiplunkar Mandali's Marathi translation of the *Mahābhārata*, observes : " The significant question which Draupadī had raised at this extremely critical moment could not be answered satisfactorily by any one. Therefore Dhṛtarāṣṭra managed somehow to get out of the fix by offering boons to Draupadī. " (p. 8)[3]

(2) An English translation of the *Sabhāparvan* by J.A.B. van Buitenen has recently been published.[4] He says in his introductory remarks : " ' Had Yudhiṣṭhira staked and lost himself ', she asks, ' before he staked me ' ? If so, he had lost his freedom and, as a slave of the Kauravas, no longer owned her to stake. There is much argument, but it remains inconclusive. " (p. 30).

---

[1] In actual fact Duryodhana is not on record to have reviled Draupadī in the Hall.

[2] Surekha Prakashan, Bombay, 1967.

[3] " या विक्षलण आणीबाणीच्या वेळीं द्रौपदीनें जो एक मार्मिक प्रश्न विचारला त्याला समाधानकारक उत्तर कोणीच देवूं शकेना, यामुळें धृतराष्ट्रानें हा पेच कसाबसा द्रौपदीला वर देवून सोडविला "

[4] The University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London, Vol. 2, 1975.

Prof. Phatak and Prof. Buitenen are thus in no doubt about the inconclusive nature of the debate. Who then gave the turn to the course of events ? According to Prof. Phatak this happened 'some how'. And Prof. Buitenen says : "In the end Dhṛtar. ṣṭra rules that the last play was undecisive and that the game as a whole had been neither lost nor won. So Pāṇḍavas depart free and still rich men." (p. 30). Prof. Buitenen avoids making any reference to the ill omens and the boons granted by Dhṛtarāṣṭra and says that Dhṛtarāṣṭra decided on his own that the game was neither lost nor won. I, for one do not know where in the *Sabhāparvan* or anywhere else Prof. Buitenen finds basis to make such statements [1]

I, on the other hand, feel that we have definite evidence to say that Draupadī's question did not remain unresolved and hence we can assert that the impasse created in the *Sabhā* did not end with the howlings of the jackals and the asses, nor 'somehow' as Prof. Phatak wants us to believe. We can say that the peculiar situation which developed in the *Sabhā* ended because Draupadī's question was decisively answered. To understand this it is necessary carefully to look at the whole incident — the circumstances in which Draupadī's question arose, the persons who were supposed to answer it, the persons who actually did try to answer it, and the answer which finally settled the issue.

The narration in the *Sabhāparvan* runs as follows :

(1) When Śakuni wins the last game in which Draupadī is staked, Duryodhana assumes that she has become the slave and asks Vidura to bring her over to the Kauravas. When Duryodhana first tells Vidura "*Draupadīm ānayasva*" (2. 59. 1) he certainly does not mean "bring Draupadī to the Assembly Hall". He only wants her to be led to the Kaurava apartments to attend to the duties of the menial servants.

But, in the opinion of Vidura, Draupadī had not become a slave, hence he does not oblige.

(2) Duryodhana then entrusts the job to his messenger Prātikāmin. Prātikāmin tells Draupadī : "Duryodhana has won you in the game of dice. Hence I have come to take you to Dhṛtarāṣṭra's house to do the household jobs" (2. 60. 4).

This message conveyed to Draupadī clearly shows that Duryodhana, to begin with, had no mind to get Draupadī to the Assembly Hall, but wanted her to be taken to the house of the Kauravas.

---

[1] More recently A. Hiltebeitel writing in a paper on "Draupadī's Garments" (II J 22.97, 1980) observes about the fate of this question as follows : "The question remains moot through the entire episode. To the wisest counsellers it is irresolvable, and it drives Yudhiṣṭhira to silence."

Draupadī, highly surprised to listen to what Prātikāmin had said, asks : " What do you say ? What prince will stake his wife ? Did the king lose his mind while playing, or did he not have anything left to stake ? " (2. 60 5)

Prātikāmin replies : " When nothing was left with Yudhiṣṭhira, he staked you. First he staked his brothers, then himself, finally you. " (2. 60. 6).

Even after this clear reply, Draupadī says : " Go, messenger, to the Assembly Hall and ask the gambler (Yudhiṣṭhira) : ' Did you first lose yourself or me ? ' " (2. 60. 7).

It may appear at first sight strange that even when Prātikāmin had told Draupadī the order in which Yudhiṣṭhira had staked the Pāṇḍavas and his wife she asks him to go back to the Hall and ask the same question to Yudhiṣṭhira. But it is really not so. Draupadī had known the ordering of the stakes. And although the primary meaning of her question relates to the ordering, what she really demands to know is : If Yudhiṣṭhira had lost himself first, did he have the right to stake his wife ? If not, how has she become a slave ?

This is the first expression of what we generally refer to as ' Draupadī's Question '. She had first put the question to Yudhiṣṭhira—" Whom did you lose first, you or me ? " The real import of this question becomes clear from the way in which Prātikāmin conveys it to Yudhiṣṭhira.

(3) Prātikāmin returns to the Hall to convey to Yudhiṣṭhira the question posed by Draupadī. He tells him : " Draupadī has asked you to answer the following question : ' As whose master hast thou lost us ? Whom did you lose first, yourselt or me ? ' " (2. 60. 8).

Yudhiṣṭhira does not reply. If it was a matter of just the ordering, there was no reason for him to keep quiet. The order of the stakes was clear, and it was known to one and all. The real point at issue was : Did Yudhiṣṭhira, who had already become a slave of the Kauravas, have the right to stake Draupadī ?

When Duryodhana first asked Prātikāmin to take Draupadī to the quarters of the Kauravas he had assumed, as probably everyone in the Assembly did, that Draupadī had lost her status as a free woman. But now, for the first time, he realizes that Draupadī does not agree to this position. She disputes the contention that she has become a slave. Duryodhana does not brush aside her viewpoint as irrelevant. He accepts that with Draupadī's question quite a new situation had arisen. He tacitly admits that her question is justified. If Draupadī has any doubt about her status as a slave, it is better, Duryodhana suggests, she came to the Assembly to get her question answered. If it is decided that she has, in fact, lost her freedom she could be sent to do the menial work.

It is Prātikāmin's lot again to take the message to Draupadī.[1]

(4) Now we expect the author of the epic to tell us what Draupadī had to say on the message brought by Prātikāmin, and also that Prātikāmin had to return to the *Sabhā* without Draupadī. But instead of being presented with these details we are confronted with a stanza which says that Duryodhana having observed the faces of the members sitting in the Hall was happy and said something to Prātikāmin (2.66.16 *tatas teṣām mukham ālokya rājā Duryodhanaḥ sūtam uvāca hṛṣṭaḥ*). But we really do not know why Duryodhana should take a look at the faces of the kings sitting there, why he should feel so happy about it, and when did Prātikāmin return to the Hall to be addressed by Duryodhana. There is no doubt that there is a gap in the narration, and we have to assume a few events in order to understand the above stanza. What we need to assume would be something as follows :

When Prātikāmin comes to Draupadī a second time in order to tell her that Yudhiṣṭhira does not answer her question and that Duryodhana therefore has asked Draupadī to go to the Assembly, she must have said : " I am not prepared to go to the Assembly. If Yudhiṣṭhira does not answer my question, put it to the Kauravas sitting in the Hall, and tell me what they have to say. " Draupadī must have shifted the responsibility of answering her question from Yudhiṣṭhira to the Kauravas.

Prātikāmin then must have returned to the Hall to tell the Kauravas that Draupadī is not prepared to come to the Assembly, and expects them to answer her question. But when none of them opens his mouth to give a reply Duryodhana must have felt happy, for he can now ask Draupadī to come to the Hall and, instead of having the messenger go to and fro, get her question answered directly by the Kauravas (2.60.16).

Only if we make a little insertion like this. it is possible for us to understand why Duryodhana feels happy looking at the faces of the Kauravas in the Assembly.

(5) When Prātikāmin is entrusted with this errand a third time, he hesitates. The *Mahābhārata* tells us that he hesitated because he was afraid of Draupadī's anger (2.60.17). It is likely that he was upbraided by Draupadī when he went to her a second time. Hence instead of doing what Duryodhan wants him to do, he stays in the Hall asking the members, " What shall I tell Draupadī ? "

(6) Duryodhana misunderstands Prātikāmin's hesitation. He feels that Prātikāmin is afraid of Bhīma. So he askṣ Duḥśāsana to carry out the errand.

---

[1] At this stage there occur two stanzas (2.60.14-15) in the *Mahābhārata* which are extremely inconsistent with the narration. We may neglect them for the purpose of this paper.

Duḥśāsana was as if waiting for this opportunity. He immediately rushes to the quarters where Draupadī stays, and instead of simply conveying to her Duryodhana's message, he starts speaking indecently to her. He says: "Draupadī, we have won you. Come to the Hall and, throwing decorum to the winds, have a look at Duryodhana, *kurūn bhajasva* (2. 60. 20)". Draupadī realizes there is no point in arguing with this man, so she hastens to the quarters where the women folk of the Kauravas lived. But Duḥsāsana restrains her by holding her flowing hair in his hand, and taking no note of her pitiful requests, ruthlessly drags her to the Assembly. Although she has made the issue of the assumption that she is a slave and although Duryodhana has admitted it, Duḥsāsana insults her by calling her time and again '*dāsī*'.

(7) Draupadī is now facing the elders in the Assembly. Duryodhana has got her there so that she may directly put her question to the Assembly and know her fate. But even before she formally puts the question to the elders, Bhīṣma assumes she has already done so, and begins his reply :

"Draupadī, I am unable to give a decisive answer to your question since the law is subtle. On the one hand, the rules of the game of dice say that one who has been deprived of all his property in the game is not entitled to stake any other property not belonging to him. Since Yudhiṣṭhira has lost himself first, Draupadī no longer belongs to him, hence he cannot stake her. On the other hand, a wife is always dependent on her husband, hence he can stake her. Since I am caught on the horns of the dilemma I cannot decide your case. Moreover, Yudhiṣṭhira did not say that there was any deception in the play. (If he did, we could cancel the game and nullify its effect.")

(8) Draupadī might have pinned high hopes on Bhīṣma. But when he disappoints her, she puts her question to the other Kauravas present in the Assembly.

When no one opens his mouth, Vikarṇa, Duryodhana's younger brother, exhorts the assembly members to give their impartial judgement. When his persistent pleas fall on deaf ears, he declares : "Whether you speak out or not, I am now going to say what in my opinion is just. And I declare that Draupadī has not been won (*manye na vijitām imām* 2.61.24). My opinion is based on the following grounds :

(1) Ground No. 1 : (i) Four addictions are listed as peculiar to a king, and gambling is one of them[1] ;

(ii) When one is under the influence of an addiction, one takes to an unlawful course ;

(iii) When Yudhiṣṭhira staked Draupadī he had lost control of himself ;

---

[1] The other three being drinking, women, and hunting.

(iv) Therefore one may not grant recognition to what Yudhiṣṭhira has done under the influence of his addiction.

(2) Ground No. 2 : (i) It was not Yudhiṣṭhira's own idea to stake Draupadī ; that was Śakuni's suggestion ;

(ii) Even if Yudhiṣṭhira accepted this suggestion he was not entitled to stake Draupadī since he was not her only husband[1] ;

(iii) And even if, for argument's sake, one accepts his right, he could not exercise it since he had already staked himself first and lost ;

(iv) Hence Draupadī has not become a slave of the Kauravas ".

Only Vikarṇa among the Kauravas has pleaded Draupadī's case so cogently. He supports his plea both on general considerations and the particular one—the former being that the society is not bound to recognize the acts of a man who is under the influence of an addiction, and the latter being that a gambler who has lost himself first has no right to stake his wife later. Hence Vikarṇa's conclusion is that Draupadī is a free woman.

The *Mahābhārata* tells us that Karṇa replied to Vikarṇa.[2]

But that is not important. What is important is that Duryodhana takes no note of Vikarṇa's view.

(10) Vidura now asks the members in the assembly to reply to Draupadī's question. That was their responsibility, he tells them.

However, no one speaks. Draupadī then reminds the members of the traditional law according to which no law abiding (*dhrmyā*) wife is forced to go to the Assembly to get her question answered (2.62.9). What Draupadī is driving at is that as long as her question—whether she has become a slave or not —is not decided she must be treated as a free woman. It was unlawful to force her to the Assembly and make her suffer indignities. It was therefore necessary first to take decision on her social status. She would abide by the ruling given by the Assembly.[3] Even then the members of the Assembly remain silent.

---

[1] As, for example, Arjuna was of Subhadrā or Bhīma of Hiḍimbā.

[2] Hiltebeitel thinks that Vikarṇa's view is based on three reasons, not two as said above. He also feels that Karṇa in his reply to Vikarṇa offers " a point for point rebuttal " (IIJ 22.98, 1980). It is difficult for me to agree to this. To me Karṇa's reply (2.61.31-36) seems so far removed from Vikarṇa's argument that I feel that the former must belong to some other version of the *Mahābhārata* in which Yudhiṣṭhira loses his belongings, brothers, himself, and his wife not piecemeal, but in a single game in which he staked his ' *sarvasva* '.

[3] At this stage Bhīṣma once again declares his inability to decide the issue. But that was not necessary.

(11) The proceedings thus appear to have come to a deadlock. Draupadī first puts her question to Yudhiṣṭhira. When he does not answer, she puts it to the Assembly. Now even the Assembly members do not speak. What is to be done ?

At this juncture Duryodhana comes forward and daringly gives a turn to the course of the events. He tells Draupadī : the Assembly members give no reply to you. Let us therefore suppose that you have addressed your question to the rest of the Pāṇḍavas—Bhīma, Arjuna, Nakula and Sahadeva. If they declare that Yudhiṣṭhira was no lord of yours when he staked you, you will be a free woman. If Yudhiṣṭhira so feels, let him answer the question even now. All the Kauravas share your grief (*sarve hīme Kauraveyāḥ sabhāyāṁ duḥkhāntare vartmānās tavaiva* 2.62.27).

All the kings present in the assembly praise Duryodhana and waive their garments to show their approval of what Duryodhana had announced. Then they all turn their necks in the direction of the Pāṇḍavas to listen to what they have to say.

(12) When the noise made by the kings subsides Bhīma begins to speak. He says : " If Yudhiṣṭhira had not been our master, we would not have tolerated all this (insult). But Yudhiṣṭhira is the master of our meritorious acts, our austerities and lives. If he considers himself won then we too have also been won in dice. " (2. 62. 32-33).

Bhīma's reply is irrelevant. The real issue is whether Yudhiṣṭhira, after losing himself, has the right to stake Draupadī, whether in that condition he is any longer her master. This point has not been answered by Bhīma. He says that if Yudhiṣṭhira considers himself a slave, the rest of the Pāṇḍavas are slaves too. But no one has raised the question about the status of the Pāṇḍavas. That they were reduced to the state of slaves is well established because when Yudhiṣṭhira staked them, he had not lost himself. But Bhīma seems to say that it was not even necessary actually to stake the Pāṇḍavas; if Yudhiṣṭhira for any reason feels himself ' lost ', the Pāṇḍavas are lost too. Bhīma's reply is totally neglected in the assembly, and it deserved to be.

(13) Bhīma is followed by Karṇa. Actually he has no right to speak now. If at all he wanted to say something he should have done so when Draupadī had put her question to all the members in the Assembly. He does not speak then. Now Duryodhana has put the question specifically to the Pāṇḍavas, and it is they who have to answer, not Karṇa. But he intervenes and, like Vikarṇa[1], argues his case on the basis of certain grounds. He says :

---

[1] Karṇa earlier refutes Vikarṇa's view and now puts forth his own view. Whether the opposition reflected in their names (Karṇa and Vikarṇa) is deliberate or accidental is hard to say.

(1) There are three categories of persons who are not supposed to own any property (*adhana*). They are : slaves, pupils, and women.[1]

(2) Accordingly a slave has no wealth of his own which he may use as a stake. But a slave's wife is his ' property '.

(3) Hence Yudhiṣṭhira, although a slave of the Kuravas, has Draupadī, his wife, as ' property ' which he can stake (2. 63. 1).

What Karṇa is driving at is that although, generally speaking, a slave has no property (and hence cannot participate in a game of dice), if he is married he has his wife as ' property ' which he may stake. Hence Yudhiṣṭhira is within his rights to stake Draupadī. This he did and lost the game. Hence Draupadī was a slave of the Kauravas.

Duryodhana just listens, as everybody else does, to what Karṇa has to say. But Duryodhana's decision now no longer rests on what Karṇa or, for that matter, any one else in the *sabhā* says. He has already declared that the ball was in the court of the Pāṇḍavas and that he would abide by their decision.

(14) Duryodhana, therefore, completely neglects Karṇa's reply although the reply was favourable to him. He once more invites the Pāṇḍavas to express their opinion.[2] He says : " I shall abide by the decision given by Bhīma, Arjuna, or the twins. Let the Pāṇḍavas say that Yudhiṣṭhira was no longer the lord of Draupadī when he staked her and I shall release Draupadī from the bondage " (2. 63. 20).

A very critical moment had arrived in Draupadī's life. Her fate—was she to spend the rest of her life as a slave of the Kauravas doing their menial jobs, or was she to lead the life as an independent, honourable woman ?—this question was in the balance. Duryodhana invited the Pāṇḍavas to decide the issue. Arjuna did not lose the golden opportunity.

(15) No sooner did Duryodhana end his speech, Arjuna began his. He said : " When the game of dice began Yudhiṣṭhira was our master. But once he has lost himself, whose master can he be ? Kauravas, you take note of this. " (*īśo rājā pūrvam āsīd glahe naḥ Kuntīputro dharmarājo mahātmā / īśas tv ayaṁ kasya parājitātmā taj jānīdhvaṁ Kuravaḥ sarva eva //* 2. 63. 21).

Arjuna's reply is quite clear. " Whose master is defeated Yudhiṣṭhira ? " Of course, of none—not even of Draupadī.

---

[1] According to Mbh 1. 77. 22, they are a wife, a slave and a son.

[2] Before this, Vidura once again (2. 63. 18) expresses his opinion although nobody has asked him to do so. According to him Yudhiṣṭhira, once he had lost himself, had no right to stake Draupadī. This he has already told once before (2. 59. 4).

This reply of Arjuna resolves the deadlock in the Assembly. One of the Pāṇḍavas has clearly declared that when Yudhiṣṭhira staked Draupadī he was no longer her lord, (and hence he had no right to stake her). Even if he lost that stake, Draupadī had not become the slave of the Kauravas. After Arjuna's clear reply, it was unnecessary to ask any one else, nor to discuss any further the legality of the matter.

As already announced by Duryodhana, the Kauravas accept Arjuna's verdict. Without a moment's delay, Dhṛtarāṣṭra speaks highly of Draupadī as the lawfully-wedded wife of the Pāṇḍavas and his own very special daughter-in-law. Until that moment Draupadī was addressed as a '*dāsī*' and was humiliated. Against this background the good words spoken by Dhṛtarāṣṭra are particularly striking. Dhṛtarāṣṭra does not stop at merely speaking a few good words to please Draupadī. He offers her a boon. He, as an elderly Kaurava, is perfectly within his rights to do so, and Draupadī, on her part, fully deserves to receive the boon after having been humiliated for some time for no fault of her own. Draupadī asks relief of Yudhiṣṭhira from bondage, and when Dhṛtarāṣṭra offers her another boon, she asks for the relief of the rest of the Pāṇḍavas. All the Pāṇḍavas had become slaves of the Kauravas and it was necessary to secure their freedom. Draupadī does not ask for her own freedom because that is no longer necessary. After the reply of Arjuna it is accepted that she has not become a slave. If she is not a slave, why ask for her freedom? Hence when Dhṛtarāṣṭra offers Draupadī a third boon she politely declines it saying that only two boons are considered proper for a Kṣatriya woman.

When one carefully observes this sequence of events which occurred in the Assembly Hall one realizes that the turn which the events took was entirely due to the reply given by Arjuna. If that were not the case, and if the turn was given by the bad omens, we will have to assume that the basic question—whether or not Draupadī had become a slave—remained unresolved. In that situation Dhṛtarāṣṭra's honouring her as a lawfully-wedded wife of the Pāṇḍavas and his own special daughter-in-law would be inappropriate. Moreover, in that case it would be necessary for Draupadī to ask her own freedom from slavery, since that question had remained undecided. But since nothing of the sort happens it is clear that nothing in the Assembly had happened due to the bad omens. What happened was due to the decisive reply given by Arjuna, and to the fact that this verdict was accepted by the Kauravas.

But the version of the *Mahābhārata* available today makes a mention of the bad omens immediately after Arjuna's reply. It is also said that Vidura and Gāndhārī, apprehensive of the ill omens, approached Dhṛtarāṣṭra and requested him to intervene. Naturally it has been assumed that Dhṛtarāṣṭra took the matteres in his hand because of the occurrence of the bad omens. Nobody has ever sensed that what happened was due to Arjuna's reply. The importance of the stanza put in Arjuna's mouth has been overlooked[1] and the stanza has been incorrectly interpreted. The latter half of Arjuna's stanza runs as : *iśas tvayaṁ kasya parājitātmā taj jānīdhvaṁ Kuravaḥ sarva eva* (2.63.21) This was translated long ago by P. C. Roy as follows: " But having lost himself, let all the Kauravas *judge* whose master he could be after that ". And more recently (1975) Prof. van Buitenen translates it as: "But whose master is he who has lost himself ? That you should *decide*, ye Kurus assembled ". (italics mine in both translations).

Both the translators have rendered *jānīdhvam* with 'judge' or 'decide' which is not correct. It would mean that Arjuna once again passed on the responsibility of answering Draupadī's question to the Kauravas. But Arjuna, a slave, has no right to do that. Duryodhana alone, as the victor in the game of dice, has the right to decide who should answer Draupadī's question.

The linguistic usage in the *Mahābhārata* will show that it is wrong to translate *jānīdhvam* with 'judge' or 'decide'. After Draupadī raised the question about her social status, whenever there is an occasion in the *Mahābhārata* asking someone to *decide* her question, we find the use of the expression *praśnaṁ brū*, the verb *brū* being used with or without a prefix. When Bhīṣma, for instance, says that he is unable to answer the question decisively one way or the other, he says : " *tasmān na te praśnam imaṁ bravīmi* (2.60.42). Draupadī requests the members of the Assembly : *vibrūta me praśnam imaṁ yathāvat* (2.60.45). While reminding the Assembly-members that it was their responsibility to decide the question Vidura says : *na ca vibrūta (? tha) taṁ praśnaṁ sabhyā dharmo 'tra pīḍyate* (2.61.52)[2]. When Duryodhana wants Yudhiṣṭhira to decide the issue, he says : *praśnaṁ prabrūhi kṛṣṇāṁ tvam ajitāṁ yadi manyase* (2.63.9)[3]. Sometimes we find the expression *vākyaṁ vi-brū* in place of *praśnaṁ vi-brū*. Vikarṇa, for instance, says : *yājñasenyā yad uktaṁ tad vākyaṁ vibrūta pārthivāḥ* (2.61.12) ; or, occasionally, we find *praśnaṁ vi vac*[4] in place of *praśnaṁ vi-brū*. Bhīṣma tells Draupadī : *na dharmasaukṣmyāt subhage vivaktuṁ śaknomi te praśnam imaṁ yathāvat* (2.60.40 ; 2.61.55).

From the above passages it becomes clear that the epic usage for conveying the meaning 'to decide the issue, to reply to a question' was *praśnaṁ (vi)brū-*.

---

[1] F. Edgerton (op. cit.) even goes to the extent of saying that none of the Pāṇḍavas ventured an opinion when Duryodhana asked them to decide the issue !

[2] Similarly 2.60.42 ; 2.61.50, 54, 55, 56, 66, 67 ; 2.61.14 ; 2.62.27.

[3] Also 2.61.19.

[4] The root *vic-*, in place of *vac-*, or noun derived from it is found in 2.61.12 ; 2.62.16.

Hence the renderings in the above English translations of *jānīdhvam as if it was vibrūta*, are wrong. Arjuna wants the Kauravas to realize (*jaāīdhvam*) that Yudhiṣṭhira, in the circumstances, could not be the master of any one ; Arjuna is most certainly not asking them to decide the unsettled issue.

Some Marathi translations of the above passage are as follow: The translation of the Chiplunkar Mandali may be rendered into English as: " Arjuna said: " Kauravas, it is clear that this Dharmrāja, son of Kuntī, was within his rights to stake us before he lost himself. But once he lost himself, whose master could he be ? You too all know this. Hence it is needless for me to say that Draupadī has not been won. "[1]

This is not the translation of the stanza, but its paraphrase. However it is not wrong like the English translations. It states correctly what Arjuna wants to convey: " Draupadī has not been won. "

The other Marathi translation in the one from the *Mahābhārata* edited by Shri C. V. Vaidya[2]. It runs as follows: " First, when he staked, the noble-minded Dharmarāja, the son of Kuntī, was our master. When he himself was won (in the game of dice), whose master was he ? Ye all Kauravas: You realize this.[3] "

In my opinion this translation is correct. But the translator has failed to recognize its importance and derive the necessary conclusion. In his concluding remarks (*samālocana*) at the end of the volume (p. 25) Shri Vaidya observes : " After Yudhiṣṭhira staked himself and lost, he became the slave of the Kauravas. Then, at the suggestion of Śakuni he staked Draupadī. Śakuni won the game and hence Draupadī became the slave of Duryodhana ".[4] This means that in the opinion of Shri Vaidya whether Draupadī had become the slave or not is not in dispute at all. Although she made an issue of it, Draupadī was, in Shri Vaidya's opinion, a slave. In that case Duryodhana's open invitation to the Pāṇḍavas to answer Draupadī's question and Arjuna's reply become meaningless. There is an entry on ' Arjuna ' in the index supplied by Shri Vaidya at the end of the volume. Under this head we find mention of many other things done by Arjuna, but there is no reference to his reply.

---

[1] अर्जुन म्हणाला :—हे कौरवहो, हा कुंतीपुत्र धर्मराज, आपण हरण्यापूर्वी आम्हांला पणाला लावावयास समर्थ होता हे उघड आहे, परंतु स्वताचा देहच हरवून बसल्यानंतर मग तो कोणाचा मालक असणार ? हें सारे तुम्हांलाहि माहित आहेच. तेव्हां द्रौपदी जिंकली गेली नाही, हें मी आणखी तें काय सांगणार ? (पृ. ५:७)

[2] Published by Damodar Savalaram and Co., Part 3 (1933).

[3] अर्जुन म्हणाला :—" पूर्वी जेव्हां आम्हांला पणाला लाविले तेव्हां कुंतीपुत्र महात्मा धर्मराज आमचा स्वामी होता. तो स्वतः (द्यूतामध्यें) जिंकला गेल्यावर मग कोणाचा स्वामी ? सर्व कौरवांनो ! हे लक्षांत घ्या. " (p. 3:6)

[4] " युधिष्ठिराने स्वतांस पणास लावून दास झाल्यावर शकुनीच्या सूचनेवरुन द्रौपदीस पणास लाविलें व तोहि पण शकुनीनें जिंकल्यानें द्रौपदी दुर्योधनाची दासी झाली. "

As a matter of fact this reply of Arjuna is so important that it should find a place in any entry, big or small, on Arjuna. Just as by hitting the bull's eye at the time of Draupadī's self-choice he won her, similarly at the critical moment in her life he gave the decisive reply and saved her from utter humiliation. What importance attaches to the correct shot of the arrow, the same, or even more, attaches to this straight-forward reply. When Duryodhana invited the Pāṇḍavas to give a reply he must have been sure that none of the Pāṇḍavas will dare say, " defeated Yudhiṣṭhira was no longer the master of Draupadī ". If we look to the way Bhīma made his reply, Duryodhana's confidence was perfectly justified.

But Duryodhana kept his word although Arjuna's reply was not what he had expected it to be. He did not set aside the verdict given by Arjuna, nor did he object to Dhṛtarāṣṭra's giving boons to Draupadī. If he had objected, the Pāṇḍavas would not have been free from bondage, although Draupadī was admitted to be a free woman. But Duryodhana does nothing of the sort and accepts the result of his bold offer. Someone in the line of the epic transmission did not want this fairness on Duryodhana's part to be observed by the posterity. Perhaps, he also did not want the posterity to know that a woman fought for her right and won. He quietly introduced the incident of the bad omens immediately after the reply of Arjuna and successfully switched off the attention of the listners (and, later, of the readers) from the stanza containing the reply. The interpolator has had no doubt tremendous success in creating the impression that the proceedings in the Assembly after the first game of dice end the way they do because of the ill omens. Our minds are so much obsessed by the fear of bad omens that we never thought that there was anything wrong in assuming that the events in the Assembly took a different turn due to the fear of bad omens. But if we are really to believe this incident of bad omens, one shudders to think of the indignities that would have been heaped on Draupadī in case the jackals and the asses moving around—one fails to know what business these animals had in Dhṛtarāṣṭra's *Agnihotraśālā* — had not raised their voice at a very critical moment in her life. She had suffered enough in the Assembly of a famous royal dynasty. She was addressed as a ' slave ' (*dāsī*)[1], abused as a ' harlot ' (*bandhakī*)[2]. She was continuously dragged at her hair causing her unbearable pain.[3] If at this juncture the above-named animals had not risen to the occasion, the Pāṇḍavas would have remained life-long slaves of the Kauravas and Draupadī would have swept all her life the floors of the Kaurava houses. The *Mahābhārata* would have ended there.

---

[1] 2. 60. 27, 37.

[2] 2. 61. 35.

[3] The *Mahābhārata* tells us that the Assembly witnessed two very degrading incidents which one would be ashamed to repeat. I do not mention them since in my opinion they are unauthentic.

But we know that it does not. The events in the *Mahābhārata* continue. Who is responsible for this continuation ? Who has the credit ? We do not give this credit to some eminent ascetic, nor to the virtues of a faithful wife, nor to Śrīkṛṣṇa, the incarnation of a god. We choose to give it to a jackal and an ass, who must have been blissfully ignorant of what was going on around them. The Indian tradition has touched a very low level in allowing the stanzas about the bad omens to remain where they are for so long. We are unaware of the fact that in doing so we have tarnished the fair image of an eminent person like Śrī Vyāsa.

If anything were to happen in the *Mahābhārata* just because of bad omens, one may ask—why did the same thing not happen when the Pāṇḍavas started on their exile after losing the game of dice a second time ? Then too the ill omens occurred, many more than on the previous occasion. The animals and birds like vultures, jackals and crows, of course, shrieked; besides, the lightnings flashed, the earth shook, Rāhu unseasonally swallowed the sun, and meteors shattered after making a round of the town the wrong way (2. 71. 25-28). Vidura did draw Dhṛtarāṣṭra's attention to these omens. But Dhṛtarāṣṭra did not get cold feet and ask the Pāṇḍavas not to proceed on exile and return to the capital The reason is obvious. Either the ill omens did not occur at all, what appears in the text of the *Mahābhārata* is a figment of some interpolator's imagination. Or, even if they did, Dhṛtarāsta was not so timid as to get panicky and do something he would not have otherwise done.

The main purpose of this paper is to make clear that it is wrong to assume that the discussion in the Assembly over Draupadī's question remained inconclusive and that the Pāṇḍavas and Draupadī regained their freedom simply due to the accidental occurrence of bad omens. The events in the Assembly end the way they do because Arjuna gave a decisive reply to Draupadī's question and, consequently, Dhṛtarāṣṭra gave two boons to Draupadī.

It may now be permitted to refer to a few points incidental to the main topic. The first is : why did Yudhiṣṭhira not reply to Draupadī's question. One reason could be that he felt the same difficulty as was felt by Bhīṣma and hence he did not reply. Or, he was convinced that he had a right to stake Draupadī even after he had lost himself, but he dare not say so, openly in order to save Draupadī from the indignities which would have followed. Or, he knew he had no right to stake her but admitting that would have meant that he had done wrong when he staked something on which he had no right. He did not have enough courage to do that.

The second point is with reference to Vikarṇa's reply. Before Arjuna gave his decisive reply, five persons — Vidura, Bhīṣma, Vikarṇa, Karṇa and Bhīma—had replied or attempted reply Draupadī's question. Of these the replies of Vidura, Bhīṣma, Karṇa, and Bhīma were paid no attention to — and this on good or plausible grounds : Vidura's reply went unheeded probably because he was *dāsīputra* and also because he was known for his partiality towards the Pāṇḍavas ; of Bhīṣma, because he could not decide the question one way or the other ; of Karṇa, because he spoke out of turn ; and of Bhīma, because the reply was irrelevant. But this cannot be said of Vikarṇa's reply. He, as a Kaurava, replied when the question was addressed to the Kauravas ; his reply was straight to Draupadī's question ; it was unambiguous, and was based on certain grounds which he detailed in so many words. And yet Duryodhana completely disregarded it ! To say that Duryodhana neglected it because Vikarṇa was younger to him,[1] or because the reply was not favourable to him is not convincing. It is likely that Vikarṇa's reply had no effect on the outcome in the assembly because he did not find any Kaurava to support him. But more than this it is not possible to say at this stage.

And the third point that needs consideration is the way Bhīṣma deported himself throughout the Assembly sitting. One cannot but say that his attitude towards Draupadī's question was unbecoming of him ; and since Draupadī was not only insulted with abuses, she was also a victim of molestation, his attitude must be judged unpardonable.

When asked a question, one may reply to it if one knew the answer. If not, is it necessary to say in so many words : 'I am not in a position to answer the question' ? Assuming that there are occasions when this becomes imperative, was it necessary for Bhīṣma to do so twice ? Moreover, on the second occasion he shifts the responsibility of answering the question to Yudhiṣṭhira and feels himself free. Did he not know that Yudhiṣṭhira, when asked by Draupadī and by Duryodhana to answer the question, had not done so ? Hence the attitude of Bhīṣma towards Draupadī's question seems quite improper.

If Bhīṣma on his part felt that the question raised by Draupadī was insolvable. should he then not have given the benefit of doubt to Draupadī ? He was face-to-face with an impudent Duḥśāsana constantly tugging at the hair of Draupadī. The moment Bhīṣma saw this, he should have told Duḥśāsana that he was in the Assembly of civilized Kṣatriyas and not in the den of hooligans. He ought to have commanded Duḥśāsana to leave Draupadī alone. The Grand Sire of the Kauravas did not rise to the occasion and hence his behaviour becomes unpardonable.

---

[1] Vikarṇa was considered to be one of the four important (*pradhāna*) Kauravas 1.90.62.

MAHĀBHĀRATA SCENES ON THE SUN TEMPLE AT MOḌHERĀ

By

M. N. PD. TIWARI*

Moḍherā, eighteen miles south of Patan in Mehsana district of Gujarat, is situated on the left bank of the Puṣpāvatī river. The famous Sun Temple at Moḍherā, now much dilapitated, was one of the most beautiful and magnificent temples in Gujarat. Even in its ruined state today, it is an imposing structure with majestic beauty. The temple is assigned to the reign of Chaulukya king Bhīma I (A. D. 1024-1066) of Gujarat.[1] It mainly consists of the *garbhagṛha* with circumambulation, the *gūḍhamaṇḍapa*, a detached *sabhāmaṇḍapa*[2] and a *toraṇa*[3] (Fig. 1).

The plastic embellishment, in complete harmony with the architectural scheme, is a remarkable feature of the temple. It contains about 35 images of Sūrya, standing in the *samabhaṅga* with long-stalked lotuses in his two hands (Fig. 2). Some of the composite forms of Sūrya, namely, Sūrya Brahmā, Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa and Sūrya-Śiva are of special iconographic interest. Besides, a sufficient number of figures of Viṣṇu, Śiva and Brahmā, both independent and with their *śaktis*, Śītalā (the goddess of small-pox), three-faced god (?) and eleven other unidentified goddesses[4] also deserve attention. The ceiling, pillars and the walls of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* and the *narathara* panel of the temple are exquisitely carved with the figure sculptures showing a variety of subjects related to different

---

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 35, Nos. 3-4, March-June'86 issue, pp. 195-200

* Deptt. of History of Art, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi-221005

[1] Percy Brown on the basis of an inscription tries to assign more precise date-1026-27 A. D.-to the temple. For details consult, Brown, Percy, *Indian—Architecture* (Buddhist and Hindu Periods), Bombay, 1959, p. 120; Somapura, Kantilal F., *The Structural Temples of Gujarat*, Ahmedabad, 1968, p. 120; Dhaky, M. A., "The Chronology of Solaṅkī Temples of Gujarat", *Jour. Madhya Pradesh Itihāsa Parishad*, No. 3, 1961, p. 28.

[2] The *sabhāmaṇḍapa* is believed to be a later addition made in the early years of the reign of Karṇadeva (1066-96 A. D.). See, Somapura, Kantilal F., *op. cit.*, p. 122; Dhaky, M. A., *op. cit*, p. 77.

[3] For details consult, Somapura, Kantilal F., *op. cit.*, pp. 120-23; Deva, Krishna, *Temples of North India*, Delhi, 1969, pp. 45-46.

[4] These goddesses bearing *śūla*, *triśūla*, noose, *khaṭvāṅga* and snake suggest Śaivite character.

aspects of contemporary life. The figures with elegant anatomical curves and beautiful expression are full of life and show the characteristic features of the mediaeval Indian sculpture. But they are neither overburdened with the ornaments nor the iconographic details.

The Sun Temple at Moḍhera represents a number of scenes from *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*, the two great epics of Ancient India. In the present paper we wish to deal with the scenes from the *Mahābhārata*. These include *Samudramanthana*, some play between Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas, Draupadī *Svayaṁvara*, fight between Arjuna-Duryodhana, Bhīma-Duryodhana, and Bhīma-Duḥśāsana; and Bhīṣma on the bed of arrows and few others.[5] Such scence are carved mainly on the pillars and the ceilings of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa*, and in some cases also on the *narathara* panel. In our discussion, we have tried to compare our scenes with the episodes as enumerated in the *Mahābhārata*, with a view to point out their agreement and departure from the original text.

The scenes of the *Mahābhārata* start with *Samudramanthana* (churning of ocean), carved in the *narathara* panel of the southern *adhiṣṭhāna* of the *garbhagṛha* (Fig. 3). The act of churning the ocean is suggested by the presence of gods and demons, standing on either side of the Mandara mountain. They are shown engaged in the act of churning the ocean with the help of Vāsukī-nāga used as rope tied round the Mandarācala. The entire story is enumerated in detail in the *Ādiparva* of *Mahābhārata*, according to which the gods and the demons, in their efforts to obtain ambrosia, agreed for the churning of the ocean with the help of Mandarācala and Vāsukī-nāga. As a result of churning a number of jewels, such as moon, Lakṣmī, god Dhanvantari (with ambrosia), Surādevī and others came out of the ocean.[6]

The second scene, carved on the northern pillar of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa*, is related with the game played by the Kaurava and the Pāṇḍava Kumāras. In the scene a number of figures are carved on a tree and nearby. However, one of the figures among them is shown as riding over the shoulder of another figure, while some are falling down from the tree, slightly bent. The present scene depicts that particular moment when Bhīma finds himself unable to climb on the tree for fruits with Dhṛtrāṣtra Kumāras because of his bulky body. Owing to this, he gets irritated and consequently shakes the tree to tease the Dhṛtrāṣṭra

---

[5] Two scenes from the life of Kṛṣṇa, who happens to be one of the central figures of the *Mahābhārata* story, have also been noticed. These scenes pertain to the churning of butter and lifting of Govardhana mt. (Fig. 6) and his poor friend Sudāmā. The former instance is carved on the northern pillar of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa*, while the latter is in a small shrine at the tank.

[6] *Mahābhārata* (Geeta Press, Gorakhpur), *Ādiparva* 18. 13-15, 34.

Kumāras. In the *Ādiparva* of the *Mahābhārata* the episode is explicitly mentioned as follows : Dhṛtrāṣṭra Kumāras and Bhīma used to go to pluck the fruits from the trees. Dhṛtarāṣṭra Kumāras could climb on the trees easily while Bhīma was unable to do so because of his bulky body. Consequently upon this, Bhīma used to hit the tree with his leg in irritation to tease Dhṛtarāṣṭra Kumāras who happened to fall down from the tree with fruits.[7]

The third scene, represented by two instances, pertains to Draupadī *Svayaṁvara*. The first instance carved on the north-east ceiling of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa*, shows four figures, two each on either side of a pillar. (Fig. 4). The entire episode is suggested by the figure of a fish placed on the top of a pillar and the presence of Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa. The other two standing figures may be some royal figures. Arjuna is standing in the attitude of discharging an arrow (*śarasandhāna*) aiming at the fish looking at its shadow in the oil. It may be underlined here that in the legend of Draupadī-*Svayaṁvara* as narrated in the *Ādiparva* of *Mahābhārata*, we do not find any mention of fish as the target and Arjuna discharging his arrow aiming at its shadow.[8] It merely refers to a target, not specified. The presence of Kṛṣṇa in the scene is equally surprising. The four-armed Kṛṣṇa bears a disc, a mace and a conch. However, the *Mahābhārata* does not speak of the presence of Kṛṣṇa at the time of Draupadī-*Svayaṁvara*. The second instance, exhibiting identical details, is carved on the northern pillar of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa*.

The fourth scene, in the north-east ceiling of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa*, is probably the fight between Arjuna and Duryodhana. (Fig. 4). In the scene, two chariots, drawn by horses, are shown confronting each other with a male figure in the attitude of discharging an arrow in each of them. However, one figure is standing while the other one is sitting. The present scene may also be identified with the fight between Bhīṣma and Arjuna or Arjuna and Karṇa. There are references in the *Mahābhārata* where the fights between Arjuna and Duryodhana,[9] Bhīṣma and Arjuna,[10] and Arjuna and Karṇa[11] are narrated almost with similar details.

---

[7] Phalāni vṛkṣamāruhya vicinvanti ca te tadā/
tadā pādaprahāreṇa Bhīmaḥ kampayate drumān//
prahāravegābhihatā drumā vyāghūrṇitāstataḥ/
saphalāḥ prapatanti sma drutaṁ trastāḥ kumārakāḥ//
Mahābhārata, *Ādiparva*, 127. 21-22.

[8] For details see, *Mahābhārata*, *Ādiparva*, 184. 8-11, 35; 187. 18-21.
yantraṁ vaihāyasaṁ cāpi kārayāmāsa kṛtrimam/
tena yantreṇa samitaṁ rājā lakṣyaṁ cakāra saḥ//
idaṁ sajjaṁ dhanuḥ kṛtvā sajjairebhiśca sāyakaiḥ/
atītya lakṣyaṁ yo veddhā sa labdhā matsutāmiti//
Mahābhārata, *Ādiparva*, 184. 10-11.
Vivyādha lakṣyaṁ nipapāta tacca chidreṇa bhūmau sahasātividdham/
tatontarikṣe ca babhūva nādaḥ samājamadhye ca mahān ninādaḥ//
Mahābhārata, *Ādiparva*, 187. 21.

The fifth scene, represented by four instances, is related with the fight between Bhīma and Duryodhana. The figure of Bhīma has always been carved as stout and bulky with flamboyant hair. The first instance, carved on the southern pillar of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa*, shows Bhīma and Duryodhana fighting fiercely with the maces. In the scene, the final moment of the episode has been carved, when Bhīma at the instance of Kṛṣṇa attacks vigorously on the thigh of Duryodhana with his mace. Here Bhīma is shown as holding the arm of Duryodhan and striking his thigh with the mace. The two other instances, showing identical details, are carved on the eastern pillars of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa*. The fourth instance, again on the eastern pillar of the *sabhāmaḍapa*, shows the entire episode in two panels. In the first panel, the fierce fight of Bhīma and Duryodhana with their maces is carved, while in the second panel the floored figure of Duryodhana is shown where Bhīma is making a forceful attack on the thigh of Duryodhana with his mace.

The *Mahābhārata* deals with the story of fight between Bhīma and Duryodhana at length.[12] It mentions that at the instance of Kṛṣṇa, Arjuna hinted Bhīma to hit the left thigh of Duryodhana. Bhīma did accordingly and caused the death of Duryodhana by his fatal hit on the thigh.[13] It was against the war ethics to hit below the naval and, hence Balarāma, the elder brother of Kṛṣṇa, severely denounced this act of Bhīma.[14]

The sixth scene, represented by two instances showing identical details, pertains to the fight between Bhīma and Duḥśāsana. The first example is carved on the north-east ceiling of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* while the other one is on the eastern pillar of it. The scene shows that highest moment of fight when Bhīma emerged victor against Duḥśāsana, and was about to complete his pledge taken at the time of the *cīraharaṇa* of Draupadī (taking off her *sārī*) to root up the hands of Duḥśāsana and drink his blood. In the scene, Duḥśāsana, wearing

---

[9] *Mahābhārata*, *Droṇaparva*, 103. 1-32.

[10] *Mahābhārata*, *Bhīṣmaparva*, 52. 12-72.

[11] *Mahābhārata*, *Karṇaparva*, 87. 2-22.

[12] *Mahābhārata*, *Śalyaparva*, 58. 26-48.

[13] Sṛtyā vañcayato rājan punarevotpatiṣyatah/
ūrubhyāṁ prāhiṇod rājan gadāṁ vegena pāṇḍavaḥ//
Mahābhārata, *Śalyaparva*, 58. 46.

[14] *Mahābhārata*, *Śalpaparva*, 60. 5.

mukuṭa and other royal ornaments, is lying helplessly, while Bhīma, holding tightly one of the hands of Duḥśāsana, is hitting voilently on his thigh with foot. The scene is suggestive of the moment when Bhima is at the point of uprooting the hand of Duhśāsana.[15]

The seventh scene, represented by one instance, shows Bhīṣma *Pitāmaha* lying on the bed of arrows (*śaraśayyā*) with his head resting on the hands. The scene is carved on the north-eastern ceilling of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* (Fig. 4). Close to Bhīṣma, there stand three male figures who are perhaps Arjuna and his two other disciples. The details of fight between Arjuna and Bhīṣma are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*. It says that Bhīṣma after being fatally injured, lay on the bed of arrows, waiting for an appropriate time, i.e. *uttarāyaṇa* for his death.[16] It is further mentioned that when Bhīṣma desired to have some suitable rest for his head, Arjuna provided him with the arrows, which was worth a warrior like Bhīṣma.[17] Therefore, it is against the tradition to show the head of Bhīṣma resting on the hand in the present scene.

There are three other scenes at the temple which could not be identified with certainty. In one of such scenes, represented by two instances and carved on the eastern pillars of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa* Bhīma is shown lifting an elephant. (Fig. 5). The scene possibly pertains to some story showing the unusual physical strength of Bhīma. There are number of references in the *Mahābhārata* where Bhīma is portrayed as fighting either with elephant or with an army of elephants.[18] In the second scene, carved on the north-east ceiling of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa*, Bhīma is shown as making a blow against a tree. We meet with several references in the *Mahābhārata* where Bhīma is said to have fought against Kirmīra, Bakāsura and Jaṭāsura with the tree.[19] The present scene may be connected with any of the above episodes.

The last scene, carved in the north-east ceiling of the *sabhāmaṇḍapa*, shows a human head, unusually big, with a male figure standing on its front. The scene perhaps pertains to the episode of the death of Jayadratha. It is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* that the head of Jayadratha was chopped off by Arjuna and sent to his father on the arrow.[20] The figure standing in front of the head is keeping his hands near its mouth, which perhaps suggests the moment when the father of Jayadratha is about to receive the detached head of his son.

---

[15] Evaṁ kruddho Bhīmasenaḥ kareṇa utpāṭayāmāsa bhujaṁ mahātmā/
Duḥśāsanam tena sa vīramadhye jaghāna vajrāśanisannibhena//
Mahābhārata, *Karṇaparva*, 83. 27.

[16] *Mahābhārata*, *Bhīṣmaparva*, 119. 1-122.
Karṇinālīkanārācairāstīrya śayanottamam/
āviśya śete bhagavān skandaḥ śaravaṇaṁ yathā//
Mahābhārata, *Strīparva*, 23. 18.

[17] *Mahābhārata*, *Bhīṣmaparva*, 120. 42-44.

[18] *Mahābhārata*, *Droṇaparva*, 25. 4-5; *Karṇaparva*, 51. 45-48; 61. 64-73; *Śalyaparva*, 25. 34-35,

[19] *Mahābhārata*, *Vanaparva*, 11. 39; 157. 60-61; *Ādiparva*, 162. 19-21; *Virāṭaparva*, 23. 21-26.

The figures in the scenes, discussed above, are mostly defaced and therefore, make it somewhat difficult to say much about their beauty, anatomical proportions and expressions. Still, whatever is available suggests that the artists have tried to carve the figures in relevant actions befitting the tradititional episode. In such depictions, the artists have generally shown the culminating point of the episode to suggest the entire story. For instance, in the scene of Draupadī *Svayamvara*, Arjuna is represented as shooting an arrow aiming at the fish and in the fight scene between Bhīma and Duryodhan Bhīma has been portrayed as making fatal hit on the thigh of Duryodhana.

It is also interesting to note here that such scenes from the *Mahābhārata* have been specially favoured at Moḍherā which pertain either to some trial of strength between two or more persons or war or bravery or conspiracy. The same can be noticed about the scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* on the temple. The madiaeval period was the time of the regional political powers fighting for supremacy amongst themselves. The period also witnessed internal rift, conspiracy and deceit. Such scenes on the temple, therefore, reflect, perhaps, the environment and also the psychology of the people during the time. It is just possible that such prevailing political conditions and moral values might have inspired the artists to carve such scenes from the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa*.

Acknowledgement

The author is thankful to the Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi for providing financial assistance which enabled him to visit Modhera and few other sites in connection with his research. The author also expresses his thankfulness to Dr. Kamal Giri, Lecturer, Deptt. of History of Art, B.H.U. for kindly going through the manuscript.

---

[20] *Mahābhārata*, *Droṇaparva*, 146. 105-30.

RASAKALIKĀLAṄKĀRA *

By

R. S. BETAI

Introductory :

A small work in just eleven folios and entitled '*Rasakalikālaṅkāra*' is found in the Munishri Punyavijayaji section of mss. at the L.D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad.[1] So far no other ms. of the work is traceable at any other library. In his first edition of *Catalogous Catalogorum*, Aufrecht does not refer to it, nor does Velankar in his '*Jinaratnakoṣa*'. The *BORI Catalogue* does not refer to it. Right upto 1960-61 Kane and De do not refer to it, though both of them refer to a work '*Rasakalikā*' possibly by Rudrabhaṭṭa[2] following V. Raghavan in his '*The Number of Rasas*'[3]. Important histories of Jain literature do not know this work. In his long and elaborate list of Sanskrit works on poetics, Kane does not refer to this work. Thus, the ms. with the L.D. Institute is a rare one and therefore important. There is no mention either of the author or the copyist and the colophon is in just two sentences :

> इति रसकलिकालङ्कारं समाप्तमिति । काशीलिपेरियं प्रतिरलङ्कारस्य लिखितास्ति ॥
> तेन शोधनीया साधुभिः ॥

The interesting fact to be noted is that the author's name is not given, but the copyist advises scholars to enter into further research on it and to try to trace other mss. The work is thus anonymous and interesting also in view of its contents as we will note below. This is a rare ms. of the work.

The work and ms. are interesting from another point of view also. The types of letters, the method of writing, the paper used, the condition of the ms. etc. show that the ms. is fairly old, and, in all probability, it belongs to the last part of the 15th century or the first part of the 16th. Again, it is difficult to decide whether the author and the copyist are Jains. The following points of evidence may, however be noted :

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 35, Nos. 3-4, March-June'86 issue, pp. 201-206

* Paper read at the 32nd All-India Oriental Conference, Ahmedabad.

[1] No. 3625

[2] Vide Raghavan : "There is no indication of the author in the MSS. of this work. But we are able to know that one Rudrabhaṭṭa was its author from the external evidence of a Kanarese treatise on *Rasa*, the '*Rasaratnākara*' of Sālva, (16th cent.)" *Number of Rasas* p. 53 I.

[3] pp. 53-54, supra.

(i) The first sentence in the work is *Śrī sarvajñāya* Such a *maṅgala* is normally to be found with Jain writers and copyists.

(ii) The paper used, the types of letters, the style of writing, the preservation of the ms. etc. show Jain trends.

(iii) The rather quick and systematic survey of the topic of *Rasa* shows that it was perhaps meant mainly for study by Jain *Sādhu*s. It should, however, be conceded that this does not help finally in establishing Jain authorship or copying.

(iv) Most of the illustrations given are from non-Jain authors.[4]

It seems that the author is a Jaina but this requires further evidences that are not so far available.

A word may be added here about the work *Rasakalikā*, two mss. of which are referred to by V. Raghavan in his '*Number of Rasas*' (pp. 53-54)[5] The author actually quotes two small passages from his work.[6] As stated earlier, Kane and De refer to the work *Rasakalikā* on this basis. However, the two small passages pertaining to *śāntarasa* quoted by Raghavan are not to be found in our present work, though the second has some similarity with the relevant portion in our work.[7] Deshpande and Baldev Upadhyay, do not refer even to this work *Rasakalikā* much less to our work. As per the evidence furnished by Raghavan, the work in ms. form *Rasakalikā* is on the face of it, much longer than the present *Rasakalikālaṅkāra*[8]. The conclusion to be drawn with our present state of information is that the *Rasakalikā* and the *Rasakalikālaṅkāra* are different works.

---

[4] His most favourite poets for quotations are—Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti and Amaru.

[5] Vide Raghavan : "So it seems to Rudrabhaṭṭa, the author of the '*Rasakalikā*', an unpublished work on *Rasa* preserved in two parts in two MSS. in the Govt. Oriental Library, Madras (Nos. 2241 and 3274). Vide Supra p. 53.

[6] The passages are as follows :

"शमो वैराग्यादिना निर्विकारचित्तत्वम् । यथा—
अशीमहि वयं भिक्षां आशावासो वसीमहि ।
शयीमहि महीपृष्ठे कुर्वीमहि किमिश्वरैः ॥"

and p. 9. R. 2241.

"यथा शान्तः—

विषयेभ्यो विरक्तस्य तत्त्वज्ञस्य विवेकिनः ।
रागादिनिर्विकारत्वं शान्तिरित्यभिधीयते ॥
सा चतुर्विधा—वैराग्यं, दोषनिग्रहः, सन्तोषः, तत्त्वसाक्षात्कारिता चेति ।
विषयेभ्यो निवृत्तिर्वैराग्यं...... रागाद्यभावो दोषनिग्रहः...... तृष्णोन्मूलनं सन्तोषः..... तत्त्वसाक्षात्कारः । 47–48."

Vide Supra. p. 54

Description of the ms

Title : *Rasakalikālaṅkāra*

No. : 3625, L.D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad-9.

Folios : 11. The last is on one side and in half the page.

Size : 27.5 × 12 cms. Writing space 22.5 × 8 cms.

Details : Thin country paper gone a little grey; double vertical black lines with red on both sides of writing; red chalk used to separate topic, verse, sentence etc; corrections given on both sides of writing; condition very good at places the copyist leaves blanks for 2 to 3 letters. Corrections are in two to three hands and readable; holes of microscopic size at places; *pañcakoṇa* in the middle; 15 lines to page and 70 letters to line. At places the copyist leaves blanks for 2 to 3 letters. Corrections are in two to three hands. Age of copy not mentioned but proof of its being fairly old and belonging to the last part of the 15th century or first part of the 16th is there.

Name of Author : not mentioned.

Name of Copyist : Not mentioned.

Begins: *Śrī sarvajñāya* / at the end

इति रसकलिकालंकारं समाप्तमिति ॥ छ ॥ छ ॥ छ । छ ॥ श्रीरस्तु ॥

ग्रन्थाग्रं ६३५ ॥ काशीलिपेरियं प्रतिरलंकारस्य लिखितास्ति ॥ तेन शोधनीया साधुभिः ॥ छ ॥

Method of Writing and Style :

Before we analyse the contents of the work, let us examine the chief traits of the writing of the work. These points may be noted :

---

[7] Vide '*Rasakalikālaṅkāra*'—

विषयेभ्योऽपि निवृत्तस्य विरक्तस्य विवेकिनः ।
रागादेर्निर्विकारत्वं शान्तिरित्यभिधीयते ॥
स[सा ?] च चतुर्धा–वैराग्यं, दोषनिग्रहः
सन्तोषश्च साक्षात्कारश्चेति । विषयेभ्यो विरक्तिर्वैराग्यम् ।

[8] This is proved by the fact that the two passages quoted from it by Raghavan are from folios 9 and 47-48. p. 54, supra.

(1) The author takes up some seven broad topics and defines and illustrates these together with their connected sub-topics.

(2) Along with these, the sub-topics are treated very carefully and in full details. In fact every technical term of dramaturgy, small or big is analysed in the usual method of definition, explanation where necessary and illustrations.

(3) To the author, the *Rasa* that he treats of envelopes the spheres both of drama and poetry. When he defines the various technical terms, he seeks the help of works on dramaturgy ; but his major illustrations come from *Kāvya* works.

(4) For his illustrations, he chooses most popular and lofty works of poetry and drama. His choice is mostly precise and exact as also decent, even when he treats of the erotic sentiment.

(5) His love and admiration for Kālidāsa as a great poet is betrayed by the fact that a large number of illustrations are from his works. The other important poets quoted are—Bhāsa ; Harṣa ; Bhavabhūti ; Amaru ; Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa ; etc.

(6) Consequently, it is possible to trace the source of most of the quotations. To the readers and students as also for *Sādhu*s, this is important because, when known illustrations occur, the grasp of the doctrines becomes easier.

(7) At places, the author gives his own explanation in prose,[9] though prose is also used for introducing new topics and new terms one after the other.

(8) New and original thinking is rather little and in prose. Yet the main topics on *Rasa* are covered up, explained and analysed in brief but with full clarity.

(9) The author writes in full ease and effortlessly. This betrays his self-confidence and clarity.

(10) After a detailed and careful study of representative works on dramaturgy and after proper choice of topics, the author gives an interesting representative work on *Rasa*

Contents of the Work :

As explained earlier, the author treats of his thinking on *Rasa* in seven broad topics. The topics are as follows :

---

[9] Fairly elaborate passages are given at some 8 places for explanation. The most important are with reference to

—स्थायी of शृङ्गार; विभावपरिपुष्टे स्थायिनि; मानापमान etc.; निर्वेद; रसानुभव and दुःखात्मकता; रससाधना is सौन्दर्यसाधना, etc.

(i) Names of the nine *Rasa*s and a reference to the controversy about the acceptance of *Śānta* as a *Rasa*[10]

(ii) Definition of *Rasa* following Dhanañjaya[11].

(iii) Enumeration of the topics on *Rasa* which are treated in due order,[12] following dramaturgy:

They are :—

(a) The *Āśrayadvaya* of Rasa
(b) The Assistants
(c) The *Bhāva*s and their due order
(d) The *Saṅkara* of *Rasa*s.
(e) The order in which the *Rasa*s move.
(f) Detailed treatment of the nine *Rasa*s, the last being the *Śānta.*

(9) The *parasparavirodha* of *Rasa* and *bhāva*. The first two, (i) and (ii) are just introductory topics followed by the abovementioned seven topics that are treated in details. All the sub-topics and the different technical terms thereof are defined and illustrated and even discussed and analysed in a few cases. In order to get a clear perspective of the whole treatment we may take examples of sub-topics and technical terms in two broad topics. Thus, in the *āśrayadvaya* of *Rasa*, the poet treats of *nāyaka* and his eleven qualities; 4 types of *nāyakas;* addition of one fifth type *vīraśānta* type of *Śṛṅgāranāyaka* , his assistants; The sub-types; details and definitions and illustrations of their *avasthā* In (c) The *bhāva*, *vibhāva*, *anubhāva* and *vyabhicāribhāva* their types etc. All are defined and illustrated.

It can clearly be seen that the author has treated of most of the topics connected with *nāṭyarasa* which is also *kāvyarasa* to him. The author seems to feel that with this, his purpose of writing the work is fulfilled; in the selection and treatment of the topics he strictly adheres to the title. By way of illustrations, the author gives choicest examples from choicest literature. Vulgar

---

10 एके तु निर्विकारत्वान्न शान्तं मेनिरे रसम् ।
प्रमादयस्तु पूर्वोक्तरसेभ्यो न पृथक्मताः ॥

11 विभावैरनुभावैश्च सात्त्विकैर्व्यभिचारिभिः ।
आनीयमानः स्वादुत्वं स्थायिभावो रसः स्मृतः ॥
(दश. ४. १)

Dhanañjaya reads स्वाद्यत्वं in place of स्वादुत्वं. Vide 4.1 in दशरूपक.

12 आश्रयास्तत्सहायाश्च
भावास्तेषां क्रमा अपि ।
रसानां सङ्करश्चैव
तेषां सञ्चरणक्रमः ॥ रसकलिकालङ्कारः

examples are rare. More examples are from poetical works. The treatment stands on sound lines.

Critical Remarks :

The author has fully justified the title. He succeeds in giving to us a handbook of no mean order on *Rasa*. He touches upon the most important and vital thinking on *Rasa* in Sanskrit poetics and dramaturgy, we may not find great originality in the work ; the scholarship and subtle analysis of Ānandavardhana and Abhinavagupta might be too much to expect here. It is very much likely that the work is prepared to supply the Jain *sādhus* with a representative work that gives the outstanding topics of *Rasa* that are discussed in dramaturgy and poetics. But it can very well be stated that the work will definitely be of interest and value to others also. The definitions of technical terms are brief, precise, exact and to the point ; the illustrations are also very exact and the best that Sanskrit drama and poetry can possibly give. His use of prose also has specific purposes of introducing different terms and topics and at several places giving his own views. He is thoroughly acquainted with works on poetics and dramaturgy at least upto the work *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*[13]. He has made profuse use of *Daśarūpaka* for this.

The question of the author's date can possibly be settled only when the sources at his command can be treated as I proceed with the editing of the work. The work will be a valuable addition to Sanskrit works on poetics and dramaturgy.

---

[13] At the fag end of the work the author refers to the दुःखात्मता of *Rasa* and without rejecting the view in details, comes to the conclusion that in रसन्निरूपण of *Kāvya* and *Nāṭya*, everything is elating and happy.

MORE LIGHT ON THE LIFE AND WORKS OF MAṄKHA AND HIS INFLUENCE ON WRITERS FOR HALF A MILLENNIUM *

By

B. N. Bhatt †

Mahākavi Maṅkha, the composer of the ornate epic poem *Śrīkaṇṭhacaritam* (*Śc.*) and the author of the lexicon *Anekārthakośa* (*AAK*) also called *Maṅkhakośa* along with an auto commentary called *Maṅkhaṭīkā* flourished in the middle of the twelfth century A.D. in Pravarapura in Kashmir. He was a versatile genius who not only combined in himself diverse qualities of a poet laureate as well as those of a lexicographer but also gave good evidence that he amply possessed qualities of a successful administrator and also those of a dedicated devotee. As a pupil of Rājānaka Ruyyaka, Maṅkhaka shows much cleverness in the use of rhetorical ornaments, and succeeds in achieving some rich and charming effects in language and metre.[1] Perhaps it was due to his fame as an *Ālaṅkārika* that there was an ascription of the authorship of *Alaṅkārasarvaswa* (*AL*) to Maṅkha by Samudrabandha[2].

Dr. Bühler opines :—Maṅkha probably wrote his chief work, the *Śrikaṇṭhacarita*, between 1135 and 1145[3].

Even though Maṅkha has written only a few works still he has been able to attract and inspire many later Paṇḍits and men of letters to write either commentaries on his works or to quote citations from them or to write independent works breathing forth similar spirit.

Here a bird's eye view of the inspiration that later writers received from Maṅkha is taken.

For the above purpose it is necessary to understand the chronology or at least the sequence of events in the life of Maṅkha.

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 35, Nos, 3-4 March-June'86 issue, pp. 207-213

* Paper read at the 32nd All India Oriental Conference, held at Ahmedabad, on 6th November 1985.

† Oriental Institute, Baroda-390002.

[1] Vide (Dr.) De S. K., *A History of Sanskrit Literature* (Classical period), Vol. 1, Calcutta, pp. 322-323.

[2] Cf. *maṅkhukanibandhavivṛtau vihitāyāmiha samudrabandhena* / etc. Trivandrum Sanskrit Series No. 40.

[3] Vide Bühler's *Kashmir Report* (extra number of JBRAS), Bombay, 1877, p. 50.

As mentioned above the *Śc.* was composed between 1135 to 1145 A.D. In the *Śc.* VI.62, Maṅkha refers to cocoanuts (Nārikela) as the product of Karṇāṭaka country and in VII. 21 he refers to *Elā* (Cardamom) as a product of South India and shows first hand knowledge of South Indian territories, customs, architecture, products, flora as also characteristic loveliness of certain limbs of the Southern beauties[4] etc. which may be due to poet's stay in south-west India as an ambassador. This corroborates that Maṅkha went to Koṅkhan[5] as an ambassador as stated by Dr. M. Krishnamachariar probably in the beginning of his career.

When Maṅkha wrote the *Śc.* King Jayasimha was the ruling sovereign over Kashmir, who had appointed Maṅkha as a *Prajāpālanakāryapūruṣa* or a judge (III. 66). Maṅkha held the said post at the time of writing the *Śc.*

As none of the contemporary writers of eminence such as Ruyyaka, Kalhaṇa etc. refers to *Maṅkhakośa*[6] and as the author Maṅkha himself has not referred to it in his *Śc.* hence it stands to reason that Maṅkha must have written the *kośa* at a later stage of his life probably after 1150 A.D.

In *Śc.* XXV. 78-80 Maṅkha refers to Kalyāṇa (Sanskritized form of Kalhaṇa) as a contemporary poet. Kalhaṇa in his turn has referred to Maṅkha as a brother of Alaṅkāra and as occupying the post of a minister for war and peace in *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (*RT*) Viii. 3354. According to *Śc.* III. 62 Alaṅkāra was occupying the post of a minister for war and peace. Alaṅkāra figures in the high office of *Rājasthānīya* or chief-justice in *Rājataraṅgiṇī* Viii. 2557, 2618, 2671 etc. Thus it becomes clear that Maṅkha must have succeeded to Alaṅkāra's office after Alaṅkāra was upgraded as a *Rājasthānīya.* Thus Kalhaṇa refers to the events in the later phase of life of Maṅkha and of Alaṅkāra hence Kalhaṇa's *RT* must have been composed after the *Śc.* i.e. in 1149-50 A.D.[7] In the *ALS*[8] with Samudrabandha's commentary edited by MM. T. Ganapati Shastri there is a verse which mentions that Maṅkha was a minister for war and peace of the king of Kashmir The above arguments proving the later composition of Kalhaṇa's *RT* hold equally good in proving the later origin of the *ALS*. MM. Dr. P. V. Kane opines that if the quotations from the *Śc*. were originally part of the *Vṛtti*, the *ALS* was composed abut 1150 A D.[9] To him it seems improbable that in the *ALS* Ruyyaka, the master must have quoted some five stanzas from his pupil Maṅkha's work[10] the *Śc*. But the *ALS* was written after the *Śc*. was composed. Moreover Ruyyaka, the teacher of Maṅkha was actually present[11] at the time of completion and reading out of the *Śc*. before the assembly of learned scholars. He must have been favourably impressed by his pupil's work and so it is not in any way improper to believe that the teacher is quoting from a work of his worthy disciple. MM. Dr. Kane has noted the numbers of stanzas of the *Śc*. that got into the *ALS*[12] viz.II.49 on p. 21, VI.79[13] on p. 87 and V. 23, VI.16 and X.10 on p. 90. Thus the quotations in the *ALS* of the stanzas from the *Śc*. were genuine ones.

---

[4] Vide the present writer's " *Śrīkaṇṭhacaritam—A Study* ", The M. S. University of Baroda, Research Series 14, published by the Registrar, M. S. University of Baroda, 1973, Chapters VIII and X.

[5] Vide Krishnamachariar M., *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, Madras, 1937, p. 177.

[6] Vide Theodor, Zachariae, Sources of Sanskrit Lexicography, Vol. III, *The Maṅkhakośa*, Vienna, Education Society's Press, Byculla, Bombay, 1897.

[7] Vide Keith A.B., *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, Oxford University press, London, p. 160.

[8] Cf. *iti Maṅkhu(a)ko vitene kāśmīrakṣitipasāndhivigrahikaḥ/sukavimukhālaṅkāram tadidamalaṅkārasarvasvam//* Trivandrum Sanskrit Series No. 40.

Samudrabandha, a commentator on the *ALS* mentions Maṅkha as its author[14]. He wrote about 1300 A.D.[15] This ascription of the authorship of *ALS* to Maṅkha must be due to Maṅkha's efforts to popularize his teacher's work.

Jagaddharabhaṭṭa, the author of *Stutikusumāñjali* (*SKA*) has fully imbibed the spirit of Mahākavi Maṅkha. Regarding many points of vital importance there is a striking resemblance between the *Śc*. and the *SKA*. Both the works are metrical compositions eulogizing Lord Śiva. Even though the *Śc*. is an ornate epic poem Maṅkha. the poet has expressly stated in 1.56 and in XXV.5-7 etc. that his intention in composing this poem was to act as a bard (*Maṅkha*) of Lord Śiva i.e. to eulogize Lord Śiva. On the other hand, the title *SKA* itself shows that it is a collection of eulogies (of Lord Śiva) conceived as an offering of cavityful of flowers offered to the Lord.

The poet laureate Jagaddharabhaṭṭa belonged to Kashmir He wrote a gloss (*Vṛtti*) on Kātantra called *Bālabodhinī* for the sake of his own son Yaśodhara.

---

[9] Vide MM. Dr. Kane P. V., *The History of Sanskrit Poetics*, third ed., Nirṇayasāgar Press, Bombay 2, 1951, p. 273.

[10] *Ibid.* p. 267.

[11] *Śc*. XXV. 30. Paṇḍit Durgāprasāda and Parab K. P. (ed.) Kāvyamālā 3 Second revised ed., Nirṇayasāgar Press, Bombay, 1900.

[12] Vide MM. Dr. Kane P. V., *Op.cit*., p. 267.

[13] It may be noted that VI.79 is a mistake. It must be VI.70 as the words *Madanagaṇanāsthāne* etc. and the No. 70 is the correct reference and since *sarga* sixth of the *Śc*. has 74 stanzas in all.

[14] *Op.cit.*

[15] Vide *The History of Sanskrit poetics*, p. 267.

The commentary on the *Vṛtti Bālabodhinī* called *Nyāsa* was written by Rājānaka Śitikaṇṭha who was the son[16] of the daughter's daughter of the grandson of Jagaddhara. Śitikaṇṭha flourished during the reign over Kashmir of king Hassana, the son of king Haidara.

From *RT* of Śrivara it is learnt that Hassana the ruler of Kashmir, reigned during 1472 A. D. to 1484 A. D. As mentioned above Śitikaṇṭha was the sixth man in descent from Jagaddhara. Taking into account 20 years for one generation it is decided that Jagaddhara must have flourished during the period beginning with 1352 A. D.

Jagaddhara has recorded the exact number of verse quarters composed by him in his *SKA* in 39. 14. As mentioned therein he has composed 5700 verse quarters i.e. 1425 stanzas in all.

In the *SKA*, Jagaddhara has given an account of his grandfather Gauradhara, of his father Ratnadhara and of his own self in 39. 1-13 which is parallel to such an account found in the *Śc*. III. 31-56.

Not only that but there is a striking similarity of ideas, emotions and expressions between the two works. Even a casual glance thrown at the *Śc*. and the *SKA* reveals that both the poets consider that the eulogy of Lord Śiva is a result of meritorious deeds.[17]

Both the poets offer their eulogies at the lotus like feet of Lord Śiva.[18]

Poet Jagaddhara offers a cavityful of flowers in the form of eulogies while poet Maṅkha offers a danseuse in the form of his speech at the feet of Lord Śiva.[19]

---

[16] Vide 8th verse in the beginning of *Nyāsa* commentary on *Bālabodhinī*.

यो बालबोधिन्यभिधां बुधेन्द्रो जगद्धरो यां विततान वृत्तिम् ।
तन्नप्तृकन्यातनयातनूजो व्याख्यामि तां श्रीशितिकण्ठकोऽल्पम् ॥

[17] Cf. मानुष्यजन्म वैदुष्यं विवेकः काव्यचातुरी ।
श्रीकण्ठे चाटुकारित्वमहो पुण्यपरम्परा ॥ श्रीकण्ठ० २५.७

मन्ये मनोवचनकर्मभिरद्भुतानि
यान्यूर्जितानि सुकृतानि पुराकृतानि ।
एतानि तानि शिवभक्तिपवित्रितानि
कर्णामृतानि फलितानि सुभाषितानि ॥ स्तुतिकु० ३८.२४

[18] Cf. श्रीकण्ठ० १.५६ cd and स्तुतिकु० ३८.२६

[19] Cf. सालंकारपदाधिकध्वनिजुषा मूर्त्या नरीनर्त्यसौ
शंभोर्येन पुरोऽर्पिता भगवतो वाग्देवतानर्तकी ॥ श्रीकण्ठ० २५.१३९

स्तुतिकुसुमसमूहं प्राभृतीकृत्य शंभो-
र्यदमलमुपलब्धं शर्म तेनेदमस्तु ॥ स्तुतिकु० ३८.२८

The emotion of devotion towards Lord Śiva is common to both the poets.[20]

Both the poets consider it a matter of great pity that poets eulogize kings.[21]

Goddess Sarasvatī may take consolation that at least there is one who tries to pacify her.[22]

The effects of the hearing of the eulogies of both the poets on the audience are similar.[23]

Both of them have represented that the mouths of the opponents were sealed in the debates.[24]

Another great writer who was attracted towards Maṅkha was Rājānaka Jonarāja. No specific mention of the date of Jonarāja's birth is found in any work up till now. According to one view Jonarāja was born in the year in which Sikandar Butaśikan became the Sultan (1389 A.D.)[25] of Kashmir. Śrīvara mentions *Saptarṣi Saṁvat* 4535 (= 1459 A.D.)[26] as the death date of Jonarāja. *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Jonarāja ends abruptly. Hence the conclusion is reached that Jonarāja must have lived for 70 years and must have died accidentally. He was a court poet (*Rājakavi*). Hence it is probable that Śrīnagara must have been his place of birth as well as his field of activity.[27]

---

[20] Cf. श्रीकण्ठ० ३.७८ and स्तुतिकु० ३९.१०

[21] Cf. सर्वैः कैश्चन दूषिताः कवितृभिः प्रस्तीर्य पृथ्वीभृता-
मास्थानापणसीम्नि विक्रयतिरस्कारादनर्घा गिरः । श्रीकण्ठ०
१.५६^{ab} also 25.6 and 25.8
यत्सत्यं सदसद्विवेकविकलग्रामीणकग्रामणी-
मिथ्यास्तोत्रपरा पराभवभुवं नीतासि भीतास्यतः । स्तुतिकु० ३०.१६^{ab}

[22] Cf. वाग्देव्या विरमन्तु मन्तुविधुरा द्राग्दृष्टयश्चेष्टते
शिष्टः कश्चन स प्रसादयति तां यद्वाणिसद्वाणिनी ॥ श्रीकण्ठ० २.५३cd
मातः कातरतां विमुञ्च यदसौ सौभाग्यभाग्यावधिः
संजातो जगदेकनाथनुतिभिर्वाग्देवि ते विश्रमः ॥ स्तुतिकु० ३९.१६cd

[23] Cf. तत्काव्ये धृतदिव्यवर्त्मनि विशत्यन्तः ससंतोषता-
मश्रान्ताहितमूर्धधूननविधिव्याप्तेरभिव्यञ्जनात् । श्रीकण्ठ० २५.१४४^{ab} also
25.146
कपोलदोलायितकर्णभूषणं तरङ्गितभ्रूयुगभङ्गुरालिकम् ।
सचेतसामर्धनिमीलितेक्षणं क्षणं वितन्वन्ति मुखं यदुक्तयः ॥ स्तुतिकु० ३९.६

[24] Cf. श्रीण्कठ० ३.६० also ३.६१ and स्तुतिकु० ३९.७

[25] Dr. Singh Raghunath, *Rājataraṅgiṇī of Jonarāja*, The Jaikrishnadas-Krishnadas Prachyavidya Granthamala 4, The Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, Varanasi-1, 1972, Introduction p. 11.

[26] *Ibid.*

[27] *Ibid.*

In the introductory stanza to his commentary on the *Śc.* as well as on his commentary on *Pṛthvīrājavijaya* Jonarāja has mentioned the name of his father as Nonarāja Bhaṭṭa and that of his grandfather as Laularāja.[28] Jyotsnākara[29] was his another name. Next to Kalhaṇa, Jonarāja is the well-known author of the continuation of the *RT.*[30] He has written a commentary on the *Kirātārjunīya.* He flourished in the regin of Jainollābhadīn[31] and was the teacher of Śrivara-paṇḍita. Jonarāja aims at explaining the *Vācya* (literal) meaning and at explaining the text fully.

Quotations from *Maṅkhakośa* are come across off and on in the commentary *Laghupañcikā* (*LP*) on the *SKA*. Rājānaka Ratnakaṇṭha the author of *LP* flourished during the reign of Aurangzeb[32] (1658-1707 A.D.). He was the son of Rājānaka Śaṅkarakaṇṭha. Even after a lapse of five hundred years one of the scholars Ratnakaṇṭha happens to quote from *Maṅkhakośa* is a glaring proof of the wide spread study of it.[33]

Dr. Singh Raghunath[34] remarks that in the absence of other means this is the only means in which the real meanings of the words used by the Kashmirian poets are found.

In his preface to the edition of the *Maṅkhakośa*, Dr. Zachariae observes: "The irretrievable loss of the last third of the *Maṅkhaṭīkā* is, to a certain degree, made up by Mahendra's[35] extracts from it. Numerous quotations, both from the text and the commentary are found in Mahendrasūri's *ṭīkā* on the *Anekārtha-*

---

[28] Cf. Introductory St. 2, *Śc.*, Kāvyamālā 3, 2nd ed., Nirṇayasāgar Press, Bombay, 1900, p. 1.

[29] Vide Dr. Singh Raghunath, *Op. cit.*, p. 10.

[30] *Catalogus catalogorum* I, p. 209.

[31] Vide Durgāprasāda and Parab K. P., *Op. cit.*, p. 1.

[32] Vide the following verses at the end of the commentary *Laghupañcikā*:

तस्याजनि तनुजन्मा **शंकर** इति भूतले ख्यातः ॥
अस्ति सद्गुरुकृपारसपात्रं **रत्नकण्ठ** इति तस्य तनूजः ।
भास्करस्तुतिरहस्यसमेतं येन रत्नशतकं निरमायि ॥
वस्वग्न्यत्यष्टभिर्वर्षे मिते (१७३८) विक्रमभूपतेः ।
अवरङ्गमहीपाले कृत्स्नां शासति मेदिनीम् ॥
बालानां सुखबोधाय हर्षाय विदुषां कृता ।
जगद्धरकवेः काव्ये तेनैषा लघुपञ्चिका ॥

[33] Vide the present writer's "*Śrīkaṇṭhacaritam—A Study*", p. 28.

[34] *Op.cit.*, p. 16.

[35] Mahendra wrote his commentary on *Anekārthasaṁgraha* of Hemacand in the last quarter of the 12th century A.D.

saṁgraha. Jonarāja in his commentary on the *Śc.* occasionally quotes from *Maṅkhakośa*, without making a specific mention of it.

Stanzas from the *Śc.* are found quoted in the *Sūktimuktāvali*[36] (*SMV*) and *Subhāṣitāvali*[37] (*SSV*).

Here an attempt is made to show the deep rooted influence exercised by such an outstanding poet/writer like Maṅkha on eminent scholars of later times extending over the period of 500 years.

---

[36] Only stanza I.1 is found in *SMV*.18.13. Vide Embar Krishnamachariar (ed.) *SMV* of Bhagadatta Jalhaṇa (1257 A.D.) G.O.S. LXXXII, Baroda, 1938.

[37] Actually 33 stanzas from the *Śc.* are quoted in the *SSV*. Dr. Peterson and Pt. Durgaprasada (ed.) *SSV* of Vallabhadeva (15th century A.D.), Education Society Press, Bombay, 1886 A.D. For the quotations of the actual stanzas vide the present writer's " *Śrīkaṇṭhacaritam—A Study* ", Appendix VIII, P. 166.

OUR NEW RELEASES

	Rs.
Discipline : The Canonical Buddhism of the Vinayapitaka—John C. Holt	50
Encyclopedia of Indian Philosophies—Karl H. Potter	
Vol. I : Bibliography 2nd rev. edn.	250
Vol. II : Introduction to the Philosophy of Nyaya Vaisesika	150
Vol. III : Advaita Vedanta. Part I	175
Fragments from Dinnaga—H. N. Randle	40
Fullness of the Void—Rohit Mehta	85 (Cloth) 60 (Paper)
Global History of Philosophy 3 Vols—John C Plott.	195
Hindu Philosophy—Theos Bernard	50 (Cloth) 30 (Paper)
History and the Doctrines of the Ajivikas—A. L. Basham	75
History of the Dvaita School of Vedanta—B. N. K. Sharma	200
History of Indian Literature Vol. I—M. Winternitz	100
History of Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy—B. Barua	125
Indian Sculpture—Stella Kramrisch	60
J. Krishnamurti and the Nameless Experience—Rohit Mehta	55 (Cloth) 45 (Paper)
Language and Society-Michael C. Shapiro and Harold F. Schiffman	130
Life of Eknath—Justin E. Abbott.	50 (Cloth) 35 (Paper)
Madhyamaka Buddhism : A Comparative Study—Mark Macdowell	50
Nyaya Sutras of Gotama—Tr. by Nand Lal Sinha	80
Peacock Throne : The Drama of Mogul India—Waldemar Hansen	120
Philosophy of Nagarjuna—K. D. Prithipaul	65
Prapancasara Tantra—Ed. by Arthur Avalon	100 (Cloth) 75 (Paper)
Select Inscriptions. Vol. II—D. C. Sircar	200
Serindia 5 Vols—Sir Aurel Stein	3000
Sexual Metaphors and Animal Symbols in Indian Mythology—Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty	100
Siksha Samuccaya : A Compendium of Buddhist Doctrine—Cecil Bendall & W.H.D. Rouse	60
Suresvara on Yajnavalkya—Maitreyi Dialogue (Brhadaranyakopanisad 2 : 4 and 4 : 5)—Shoun Hino	125
Tantraraja Tantra—Ed. by Arthur Avalon & Lakshaman Shastri	120 (Clot 100 (Paper
Vedic Mythology, 2 Vols—Alfred Hillebrandt; tr. by Sreeramula Rajeswara Sarma	220

For Detailed Catalogue, please write to :—

MOTILAL BANARSIDASS

Bungalow Road, Jawahar Nagar, Delhi-110007 (India)

ON TWO SANSKRIT UPASARGAS

By

MRINAL KANTI NATH*

It is well-known that Sanskrit grammarians enumerated twenty *upasargas* for Sanskrit. Alphabetically arranged these are as follows : *ati*, *adhi*. *anu*, *apa*, *api*, *abhi*, *ava*, *ā*, *ud*, *upa*, *dus* (*dur-duh*), *ni*, *nis*, *parā*, *pari*, *pra*, *prati*, *vi*, *sam*, and *su*. The *Ṛgveda Prātiśākhya* explicitly states twenty *upasargas*.[1] The *Vājasaneyi Prātiśākhya* does not mention any definite number like that of the RVP. from the list it appears that there are twenty *upasargas* only,[2] however, Uvaṭa[3] and Anantabhaṭṭa[4] in their commentaries mention "twenty *upasargas*". Yāska in his *Nirukta* has given a list of the same number of *upasargas*.[5] In Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, these *upasargas* are stated as "*prādayaḥ*" (1. 4. 58), and commentators give a list of 22 *upasargas*[6] which linguistically can be brought down to twenty only as *dus* and *dur* as well as *nis* and *nir* are allomorphs only, having alternate surface realisations in different phonological environments (forms ending in *-r* occurring before vowels and voiced consonants).

This paper attempts to show, besides these twenty *upasargas* enumerated by the orthodox Sanskrit grammarians, there are two more *upasargas* which are not

---

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 35, Nos. 1-2, Sept.-Dec. '85 issue, pp. 215-218.

* 14. W., Dum Dum Rd. Calcutta-700030

[1] Prābhyāparā nirduranu vyupapa sam pari prati nyatyadhi sūdavāpi.... Upasarga viṃśatiḥ .... 12.6.

[2] Paropāva pratiparyanvapyatyadhyāñ prasannirdururunnivisvabhi 6.24.

[3] Uvaṭa : Parā upa ava prati pari anu api adhi āñ ā sam nir dur ud ni vi su abhi .... viṃśatirupasargāḥ ... bhavanti.

[4] Anantabhaṭṭa : Parā upa ava prati pari anu api adhi āñ pra sam nir dur ut ni vi su abhi .... viṃśatirupasargāḥ .... syuḥ.

[5] ā ityarvāgarthe. pra parā ityetasya prātilomyam. abhi ityābhimukhyam. prati ityetasya prātilomyam. ati su ityabhipūjitārthe. nir dur ityetayoḥ prātilomyam. ni ava iti vinigrahārthiyā. ud ityetayoḥ prātilomyam. sam ityekībhāvam. vi apa ityetasya prātilomyam. anu iti śādṛśyāparabhāvam. api iti samsargam. upa ityupajanam. pari iti sarvatobhāvam. adhi ityuparibhāvam āiśvaryaṃ vā. 1.3.

[6] Prādayaḥ kriyāyoge upasargasaṃjñā gatisaṃjñāśca syuḥ. Pra parā apa sam anu ava nis nir dus dur vi *añ* ni adhi api ati su ud abhi prati pari upa. etc prādayaḥ (*Siddhāntakāumudī*). Following the Vārttika, Sengupta (1957 : 64) has remarked that "*Pra pāra* etc are *twentytwo upasargas*". In a footnote (Sengupta 1957 : 65) he has also given the list of the twenty-two *upasargas*.

at all given in the inventory of *upasargas* nor the scholars working on Sanskrit grammar have noticed these. These two upasargas are *ad* and *d*.

The orthodox grammarians were not in a position to give a scientific and linguistic explanation of these two *upasargas*. *At* is mentioned in the Vārttika as an *upasarga*, on Pāṇini (1. 4. 59) as *acchabdasyopasaṃkhyānam* and also on Pāṇini (3. 3. 106), where it appears in *adantororupasarga*(*vat*)*vṛtti*, and therein by the form *addhā* the upasarga *at* is explained (*at* + *dhā*), this seems to be a wrong analysis. *Addhā* is a reflex of Indo-European**ṃdz-dhē* (cf. Avestan *azdā*, Old Persian *azda*; IE*ṃd is derived from the zero grade of**med* : cf. Latin *meditāre* (Mayrhofer 1953 ff : 29, Pokorny 1951 ff : 705). In the Vārttika of the same sūtra *marut* is also taken as an *upasarga* (: *marucchabdasya copasaṃkhyānam*; e.g. *marudbhirdatta*). Thus we find this so-called *at* is very much different and distinct from our *ad*. We could rather say that the *at* mentioned in the Vārttika is no *upasarga* at all—the apparent segmentation of *addhā* is made on false grounds.[7]

The question may, however, arise : how did we get these two *upasargas* ? The answer is given by two words : *adbhuta* and the verbal root *tsar* (d → t before a voiceless consonant). In the *Uṇādisūtra* (5.1) the word is explained as *at* + *bhū* + *ḍutac*[8]. Linguists failed to notice this derivation so they could not explain it properly. Linguistically it may be explained as follows : *ad* + *bhu* + *ta* (the zero grade of *bhū is bhu* (Pokorny 1958 ff : 146-148) cf. *prabhu*, *śambhu*). Monier-Williams (1899 : 12) also explained in the same vein but he seems to be confused to derive *at*. According to him the derivation is as follows : " *at* ind (*clinable*). A prefix said to be imply surprise, probably a contraction of *ati* meaning extraordinary .... *Adbhuta* " (italics mine). There is no parallel attested example of *at* coming from *ati*, it may not be possible also in Sanskrit. This explanation seems not to be satisfactory and we have grounds not to accept this etymology. Mayrhofer (1953 ff : 30) did not offer any new etymology, he, however, remarks that though there are some difficulties, yet Pokorny's assumption is acceptable.

We are in favour of inclusion of the *upasarga ad* in Old Indo-Aryan. This is one of the oldest *upasargas* though we do not come across anywhere in the totality of rich literary history of Sanskrit except in the word *adbhuta*. The cognates of this *upasarga* are available in Latin as *ad*, in Greek *ad-dakeyi*, Old Irish *ad-gladur*, Gothic *at* etc. (Pokorny 1958 ff : 3). From this we may conclude that this was not very much common one in Sanskrit still from historical evidence one cannot say that it was a rarity. The zero grade of *ad upasarga* is *d*, which we find only in one root *tsar* (which is made of the root *sar* with the *upasarga d*) and its different derivations, especially verbal and nominal forms. This zero grade form is also quite well distributed in all the Indo-European languages, for example, Old Saxon *t-ogian*, Old High German *z-agen*, *zougen*, Middle High German *zougen*. In Sanskrit this *upasarga* (that is zero grade form : *d*) has so much been glued to the root that it cannot be separated from the root, and the grammarians also treated this as a simplex root which is evident from the verbal stems, e.g., the perfect form is *tatsara*[9] and in case it was treated as with the *upasarga*, the regular form should have been **t-sasâra*. There are a number of examples where *upasargas* and roots are mixed up and treated as a simplex e.g., *ujh* which according to Whitney (1963 : 12). " A secondary root coming from *ud* + *hā* (*ujjahām* etc.) ". This is a peculiar case. *Ujjahāmi* is taken as the resultant of a root not *upasarga* + root, and this has created a new root *ujh*. The examples of this type of formations are not few and far between OIA *vyac* (*vi* + *ac*), *vyay* (*vi* + *ay*) (Macdonell : 116, 167). The root *pīḍ* also resulted from *api* + *sad* (*api* + *sad* → IIr *pisad* → *pišd* → *pižd* → *pīḍ*) (Sen 1958 : 23-24).

---

[7] It may safely be assumed that the ancient grammarians knew the existence of an *upasarga* like *ad* otherwise how they would say *at* of *addha* is an *upasarga*, whatever wrong be their analysis.

[8] *adi bhuvo ḍutac*.

Similar process is further observed in OIA where the root + *vikaraṇas* have given rise to so many secondary roots, e.g., *i-nu*, then this *i-nu* is being transferred to *bhvādi* class, and thus we get *invati*, *jinvati*, *pinvati*, *hinvati* etc. In MIA *vikaraṇas* and roots also gave rise to new roots e g., *jujjha* ← yudh + ya ; sakka ← sak + ya/no etc. (Sen 1960 : 144).

Now our contention is that we may include these two in the list of *upasargas* of Sanskrit. Though these are not mentioned by the grammarians it does not in any way mean that these were not present there in Sanskrit. These were very much there and these should be treated as *upasargas* like those twenty. Moreover, it might be added here that the Sanskrit grammarians might have noticed at least one of these two *upasargas* (vide note 7), but they are not quite aware of its being an *upasarga* in its proper sense.

---

[9] See *Siddhāntakāumudī* on Pāṇini 7. 2. 2.

References

Bohtlingk, O. *Pāṇini's acht Bucher Grammatischer Regeln.* : H. B. Konig, Bonn 1839.

Macdonell, A. A. *Vedic Grammar for Students.* : Oxford U. P. London (16th impression) 1968.

Mayrhofer, M. *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Worterbuch.* : Carl Winter, Heidelberg 1953 ff.

Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary,* : Oxford U. P. London 1899.

Pokorny, J. *Indo-Germanisches etymologisches Worterbuch.* : A. G. Verlag, Bern 1958 ff.

Sarup, L. *Nighantu and the Nirukta.* : Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi 1967.

Sen, S. *History and Pre-history of Sanskrit,* : Mysore U. P., Mysore 1958.

... ... *A Comparative Grammar of Middle Indo-Aryan.* : LSI. Poona 1960.

Sengupta, S. *History of Sanskrit Philology* (In Bengali). : Firma KLM, Calcutta 1957.

Sharma, V. Venkatarama, *Vājasaneyi Prātiśākhya of Kātyāyana.*: U. of Madras, Madras 1934.

Shastri, P. *Ṛkprātiśākhyam.* : Calcutta Sanskrit Sahitya Parisat, Calcutta 1927.

Vasu, S. C. *Siddhantakaumudī.* 2 Vols. : Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi 1962.

Whitney, W. D. *Roots, Verb-Forms and Primary Derivatives.* : Motilal Banarsidass (First published 1885), Delhi 1963.

PRAŚASTI OF SAMUDRAGUPTA IN PURĀṆA TEXTS

By

S. V. SOHONI *

With J. F. Fleet's active assistance, F. E. Pargiter published in 1913, his famous work, *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*', based on collecting a number of mss. of different Purāṇas. At the end of his very valuable Introduction to his '*Text*', Pargiter paid a handsome tribute to Fleet in these words, " He had long thought that a critical edition of the Purāṇa texts of these dynasties was greatly needed, and it was at his desire that I undertook this work, which has proved full of interest. He has done me the kindness to read most of this Introduction and to offer me some criticisms and suggestions, which have also opened up some new questions that I have now endeavoured to elucidate ; and he has supplied the valuable references to various inscriptions which mention certain kings named in these dynastic lists ". (p. xxviii).

Separately, Fleet had taken a poor view of the historical data in the Purāṇas. According to him, " It is indeed very questionable whether the ancient Hindus ever possessed the true historical sense in the shape of the faculty of putting together genuine history on broad and critical lines. " (Imp. Gaz. Ind Vol. II, p. 5).

It is fairly certain that the period-wise break-up of the dynastic lists, e.g. that captioned, ' Dynasties of the third Century A.D. ' (vide pp. 50-53) and that with a heading, ' Contemporary Dynasties of the Early Fourth Century ' (vide pp. 53-55), was largely contributed by Fleet.

2 Pargiter's principal aim in minutely examining parallel passages in various Purāṇas was to discuss the ' central form ' of the '*Text*'. The risk involved in this effort was that unless there was an independent source of evidence which could control the relevant details and thereby lead to the correct wording (like an inscription or a coin), the larger the number of variants the greater was the scope for error in locating a ' central form ' of the assumed original reading ! Consequently, Pargiter was apt to overlook the position that while determining the original words in a line or a part thereof, the general purport of the entire description appertaining to a dynasty or an individual member of that dynasty

---

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. No. 35, Nos. 3-4, Sept.-Dec. '85 issue, pp. 219-228

* 100 A/4, Manali Co-op. Housing Society Ltd., Opposite Street No. 15, Prabhat Rd., Erandavane, Pune 411004.

was clearly relevant. The passages deserved being studied as whole units, from this objective angle.

Pargiter evolved his own Purāṇa Text (note the singular) of the historical dynasties, subject to this source for causing confusion, one more among many others, as could have been responsible for scribal errors. Divisions into periods, determined by Fleet, could at best only be broadly correct.

3 Twenty years later, K. P. Jayaswal, working on the basis thus provided by the joint scholarship of Pargiter and Fleet regarding ancient Indian historical tradition in mss. of various Purāṇas, published his celebrated analysis of the dark band in ancient Indian annals viz. " History of India c 150 AD to 350 AD ", in the issue of the *J. B. O.R.S.* Vol XIX, parts I-II, 1933. This History dealt with three dynasties, viz. the Nāga, the Vākāṭaka and the Gupta. Marked by bold speculation which was advanced with skilled advocacy, Jayaswal repeatedly put, side by side, statements in Purāṇa texts and independent historical material, as would show how they supported each other. He was impressed with the fact of the decay of the imperial Kuṣāṇas; and sought to show that this was the achievement of the Bhārasiva Nāgas. In this background, he highlighted the cultural achievements of the Nāga rulers, followed by the great career of Samudragupta.

4 Jayaswal's conclusion that the Nāgas were wholly responsible for the ouster of the Kuṣāṇas was revised by A. S. Altekar[1], who pointed out, chiefly on numismatic grounds, that there were other purely Indian communities like the Yaudheyas, the Ārjunāyanas and the Mālavas, who had collaborated in the process of eliminating the foreign rule. While this was broadly correct, his assumption that these local powers had *jointly* worked towards this objective, has yet to be proved.

5 Jayaswal's other conclusion, based on drawing a contrast between what he held to be then prevalent oppression and social structural changes during the Kuṣāṇa regime and the cultural revival under the Nāgas and, later on, under Samudragupta, attracted very much less critical examination. His evaluation of the Kuṣāṇa rule was largely linked with Pargiter's reconstruction of a number of lines in the largest passage in his ' *Text* ' devoted to a single ruler, which was featured at the end of the period captioned (as surmised, very probably, by Fleet himself) as that of the ' Dynasties of the Third Century A.D'. This 15-line passage has been printed at pp. 52-53 of the *Text*, Pargiter's translation (vide p. 73) may be quoted.

---

[1] Altekar, A. S. *J.N.S.I.* vol. V Numismatic Society of India, Bombay-1 III ff,

"Of the Magadhas, the king will be very valiant Viśvasphāṇi (Bh: Viśvasphurji; Vs: Visvaspatika). Overthrowing all kings he will make other castes *kings*, namely, Kaivartas, Pancakas, (Bd. Madrakas Vs. Yadus, Bh. both), Pulindas and Brāhmaṇas. He will establish those persons as kings in various countries. Viśvasphāṇi the magnificent *will* be mighty Viṣṇu's peer in battle, King Viśvasphāṇi is called eunuch-like in appearance. Overthrowing the Kṣatriya caste, he will create another Kṣatriya caste. After gratifying the gods, the *pitṛs* and brāhmaṇas *once and again*, he will resort to the bank of the Ganges and subdue his body; after resigning his body he will go to Indra's world",

6 Jayaswal made use of this unique passage in '*the Purāṇa Text*', while dealing with what he called, 'The Kushana Rule at Padmāvatī and in Magadha, C. 80 to 180 A.D.' (vide § 33-35, at J B.R.S. Vol. XIX, pts. I-10, pp. 41-48), While all these three paragraphs make very interesting reading and illustrate his adroit advocacy, only the more material portions thereof need be quoted below:

"We know from two Sarnath inscriptions (E. I. Vol. VIII, p. 173) that Vanaspara ruled as governor of the province wherein Benares was situated, under the reign of Kanishka in his year 3. Vanashpara (Vanaspara) was at that time only a governor (Kshatrapa), while his chief Kharapallāṇa, was a Mahākshatrapa (Viceroy). Vanashpara would have become Mahākshatrapa later. We may, therefore, place him at about 90 A.D. to 120 A.D., for he seems to have had a long rule. This is the period when the Vidiśā Nāgas must seek security in obscurity. ..

"Viṁvasphāṭi established himself at Padmāvatī (according to the *Bhāgavata*) and upto Magadha (according to all the Purāṇas). Purāṇas record that he was very brave, that he conquered capitals, i.e. from Padmāvatī to Bihar; that in battle he was powerful like Vishṇu; that he looked like a eunuch. The Purāṇas here anticipated the description which Gibban, the great historian, gave to the Huns:—'As they were almost destitute of beards, they never enjoyed the manly graces of youth or the venerable aspect of age'. Vanaspara evidently had a Hun-like, Mongolian appearance. His policy is specially noted. He made the population practically Brahmin-less (*prajāś ch-ā-brahma-bhūyishṭhāh*). He depressed the high-class Hindus and raised low-caste men and foreigners to high positions. He abolished the Kshatriyas and created a new ruling caste. He made his subjects un-Brahmanical. The same policy was followed by the later Kushānas as we shall see hereafter (§ 146B)—a policy of social tyranny, and religious fanaticism—both actuated by political motives. Vanspara created a new ruling or official class out of the Kaivartas (a low caste of aboriginal agriculturists, now called Kewaṭ) and out of the Pañchakas i.e. castes lower than the Śūdras—the untouchables....

"These Mlechchha rulers felt the ignominy which the Brahmanic system of society automatically imposed upon them, and they tried various means to destroy that social system which excluded them".

7 It is quite evident that Jayaswal was misled by the 'central form of '*the Purāṇa Text*' of the passage as settled and translated by Pargiter, and its arbitrary assignment by Fleet to a period ending with the second century A.D'.

For the supposed link between the passage and the Kuṣāṇa Kṣatrapa, Vanaspara, is more of a phonetic fancy than a historical fact— a conclusion which is supported not only by the analysis of the contents of the passage but also by several other independently verifiable relevant considerations.

8 A close look at the fifteen lines comprising this extremely significant portion of the historical tradition would show that whoever Viśvasphāṇi/Viśvasphaṭika/Viśvasphātika/Viśvasphūrji was, he was definitely *not* anti-brahmanic; and that no idea could at all be entertained that he was a cruel tyrant, bent on upsetting a time honoured social order. It must be remembered that he was compared with Viṣṇu '*Viṣṇu-sama-prabhaḥ*'; that it was explicitly stated that he had, (to quote even Pargiter's translation) "Gratified the gods, *pitṛs* and brahmins, once and again" (p. 73); and that he was even described as resorting to the bank of the Ganga for subduing his body; and that after resigning his body, he would go to Indra's world. (p. 73). Statements like these, appearing in purely Vaiṣṇavite Purāṇas like *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Vāyu*, *Viṣṇu* and *Bhāgavata*, completely rule out any inference that Viśvasphāṇi was an oppressive opponent of India's ancient social order, and much less of Vaiṣṇavite dogma. Moreover, those lines in the passage which contain these assertions about him, are, it must be stressed, comparatively free from variant readings. It is the variant readings elsewhere as sifted *about* by Pargiter so as to lead to his *Text*, which cause an impression to the contrary—variant readings concerning proper-nouns of regions and communities by and large—with one single exception of an entire line, whereby Pargiter's version gave Jayaswal the strange suggestion that Viśvasphāṇi looked like a eunuch—"*Viśvasphāṇir narapatiḥ klīvākṛtirivocyate*".

9 To deal first with this attribute of a eunuch-like appearance of an invincible ruler, which was, *at the same time* compared with the splendour of Viṣṇu's personality, should have compelled a meticulous scrutiny of this admittedly restored line. For it was unthinkable that a human being should look like Viṣṇu, while possessing the physical features of a eunuch.

Sanskrit literature abounds with references to kings who were described as possessing such an abundance of *vīrya* as to justify describing their enemies as being totally devoid of that quality. That is precisely relevant in the instant context, which purports to say that Viśvasphāṇi rendered other kings into eunuchs—it may be recalled that he had already been described as '*mahāvīryaḥ*', '*mahāsattvaḥ*' and '*balī*'.

As amply demonstrated by Pargiter himself, the historical tradition in Purāṇas, was not initially recorded in pure Sanskrit. Assuming that Viśvasphāṇi was the *kartā* in the instant sentence, in view of what was stated earlier about him, it was superfluous to refer to him as '*narapatiḥ*'—which must bave been '*narapatīn*', i.e. an accusative plural; and it is necessary to perceive that the original intention was to call these kings eunuch-like, in comparison with Viśvasphāṇi. I have shown in appendix II how this line is best revised correctly.

10 Jayaswal was impressed with the information yielded by Pargiter's restored text, "*Utsādya pārthivān sarvān so anyān varṇān kariṣyati/kariṣyate aparān varṇān*". What could have been a more topsyturvy world ? But a closer look would suggest that the position was vastly different. As Pargiter's f.n. 31 would state, the original reading seems to have been, '*pārthivān sarvān so avakīrṇān kariṣyati*'—an idea which fits in far better with the rest of the passage and is, in addition, well-known to ancient political science. '*avakīrṇān*',[2] corresponding to '*utkhātān*'.

11 One may next take up the lines containing the names of some communities. What has been restored as '*Kaivartān*' is, obviously, a reference to the Kirāta community—the Kaivartas are a professional caste scattered all over and have never occupied a compact region as such by themselves.

'*Pancakān*', mentioned next, in two Purāṇa texts, is actually over writing for 'Yadu/Yapu-Madrakān' of the *Bhāgavata* version. Taking into account variants for 'Yadu' viz. Yadru/Yapu/Papu', one may recall that in Purāṇic lists of peoples as well as in some ancient inscriptions, the Madraka community is found being mentioned along with the Yaudheya community i.e. the two going together as 'Yaudheya-Madraka' (e.g. in Hariṣeṇa's *praśasti*), which was very probably, what was the original text at this place.

The other community mentioned in the restored Text is Pulinda. Elsewhere, one comes across 'Guruṇḍa' as a name of a community, standing for the original 'Muruṇḍa' (e.g. p. 72 f.n. 9). The text accordingly, is more likely to be, 'Kirāta (or preferably, Kidāra)-Muruṇḍa-Yaudheyaka-Madrakān'.

The clause, "*Prajāśca-ābrahma-bhūyiṣṭhāḥ sthāpayiṣyati*", cannot mean that Viśvasphāṇi eliminated Brahmins amongst his subjects, as interpreted by Jayaswal. Even Pargiter's translation would have it that Viśvasphāṇi would choose some kings even from the Brahmin community as well. (p. 73)

12 In these circumstances, it cannot be claimed that Viśvasphāṇi was not opposed to Vedic religion and culture. On the other hand, there is an emphatic

---

[2] Cf. तान् कुर्वीथास्तुमुलकरकावृष्टिपातावकीर्णान्—Meghadūtam 54

statement that he would perform rituals like those aimed at propitiating gods, ancestors and brahmins.

13 The political implication of the passage is that Viśvasphāṇi was, basically a king of Magadha ; that he established or respected (obviously, outside his own territories) polities of the Kirātas or Kidāras (in the North), the Muruṇḍas, the Yaudheyas and Madrakas in the North-West. If the Muruṇḍas were not confused with the Pulindas, the reference to the latter community obviously meant the aboriginal tribes inhabiting the Vindhyan region from the East to the West in Central India.[3]

14 Another main point concerning this extraordinary ruler from Magadha, was that he had annexed many kingdoms. In fact, the highly telltale word, '*ucchādya*' occurs twice in the passage—vide '*ucchādyo aśeṣa*' in f.n. 36 at p. 52, and in one of the final lines, by way of '*ucchādayitvā tat kṣatram*' in f.n. 52 on p. 53. It would be completely wrong to translate the word, '*kṣatra*' as referring only rulers of the Kṣatriya caste. It was, obviously, used to include all those who had ruling powers.

15 While such is the position in respect of the implications of the passage itself, what can be cited about its import, on using only independently verifiable and purely historical materials ? Firstly, Vanasphara appearing as a donor to a Buddhist shrine at Vārānaṣī in 81 A.D. i.e. the third year of the first Kaniṣka, had no opportunity to displace either his emperor in 81 A.D. or his immediate descendants, in order to usurp power all over North India, as assumed by Jayaswal. Secondly, had there been any such ruler, having a long enough reign, as further assumed by Jayaswal, it would have been a matter of surprise that he left no evidence of his long and extensive rule, in terms of inscriptions and coinage. Not one single coin has been yet discovered bearing a name even remotely resembling *Vanasphara*. Thirdly, it would be wrong to compare the physical appearance of Kuṣāṇas with that of the Śakas and of both of them with that of the Hūṇas, who, later on had ravaged Central Europe in the 5th century. It is clearly established by now that the Hūṇas who invaded and ruled over Sindh, Punjab, Kashmir, Rajasthan and a portion of Madhya Pradesh, were not identical in appearance with the Huns in Europe, so vividly described by Gibbon. Gibbon's Huns had Mongoloid characteristics ; and Toramāṇa and Mihirakula had Turko-Iranian features.—they were Śveta Hūṇas. Fourthly, there seems to be no particular reason why Padmāvatī, a Nāga dynasty's capital in northern Madhya Pradesh, should at all have been singled out for mention in this passage as a major political centre which attracted Viśvasphāṇi's military might. For the Kuṣāṇas had, admittedly, captured in the Uttarāpatha, many equally or

---

[3] Sircar D. C. : *Studies in Geography of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi-6, 1960, p. 39.

more renowned dynastic capitals and there was no particular point in exclusively highlighting only Padmāvatī. Finally, there is little or no phonetic resemblance between Vanasphara and Viśvasphāṇi or with any of its misreadings.

16 Who then was Viśvasphāṇi ? I venture to submit that he was none other than Samudragupta himself. The main features of this great monarch's career easily fit into the détails yielded by this passage.

(1) That he belonged to Magadha.

(2) That he was the unique '*sarvarājocchettā*', according to documents issued by his descendants.

(3) That there is comparable reference to the impact of his prowess on those who yielded to him or were forced to acknowledge his overlordship—one may note the frequent employment of the word, '*vīrya*', in the initial part of Hariṣeṇa's *praśasti* of Samudragupta and the use of similar expressions in this passage.

(4) That his successful confrontation with Nāga ruling families in Āryāvarta is a very prominent feature of his military career, according to that *praśasti.*[4] In contrast, no outright annexation was either intended or achieved in his Dakṣiṇāpatha compaigns.

(5) Hariṣeṇa leaves no room for doubt that Samudragupta's interest in Vedic religion and culture was based on his radical orthodoxy, a position that is proved by other evidence as well. According to this passage, Viśvasphāṇi performed rituals and ceremonies to propitiate gods, *pitṛs* and brahmins.[5]

(6) It is now, by and large, recognised that Kālidāsa's description of Raghu in his *Raghuvaṁśam* was largely inspired by Samudragupta's personality and career. According to *Raghuvaṁśam*, Raghu too ended his earthly career on the bank of the Gaṅgā;[6] and thereafter, went to Indra's world[7]—exactly as Viśvasphāṇi was supposed to have done, according to this passage. In fact, according to no less an authority on Sanskrit literature than Dr. V. Raghavan, there is clear proof that in some passages in *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*, there is clear imprint of Kālidāsa's ideas and literary expressions.[8]

---

[4] I have shown elsewhere that there are reasonable grounds to hold that the Padmāvatī Nāgas were a major danger to the descendants of Gupta.

[5] '*Tarpaṇa*' is explained in *Śabdakalpadruma* as, '*Devarṣi pitṛ manuṣyāṇām jalāñjalidānena tṛpti-sampādanam*'.

[6] Cf. the description of Raghu after Aja succeeded to his throne, in *Raghuvaṁśam* 8.

[7] Cf. *Raghuvaṁśam* 8.95.

[8] *Triveni* Vol. IV, no. 6, 1931, pp. 69-77 and Vol. V, no. 4, 1933, pp. 357-366.

(7) It is not at all surprising that the greatest Gupta ruler was described in the Vaiṣṇavite Purāṇas like the *Bhāgavata*, *Viṣṇu* and *Vāyu* texts, in the course of the additions made to them, some generations after his reign. In fact, its omission would have been a strange and glaring circumstance, particularly, when, as proved by Dasharatha Sharma, some of Samudragupta's immediate descendants, viz. Candragupta Vikramāditya, Kumāragupta Mahendrāditya and Skandagupta have been, indirectly, but transparently, referred to by using such names as ' Devarakṣita ', ' Mahendra ' and ' Guha ', respectively.

(8) Using other names which were but thinly veiled real names in wide contemporary currency, was a technique admittedly adopted in a Buddhist account like that of the historical tradition in Mañjuśrī—Mūlakalpa. We have seen aboue, three instances of this very practice in respect of three successive Gupta emperors in the Brāhminic Purāṇas.

17 What then was the ' central form ' of Viśvasphāṇi/Viśvasphaṭika/Viśvasphurji, assuming that it was initially derived from a Prākṛt proper name ? It appears to me that it was either Viśvapāṇi or Viśvapati, both being names of Śiva. There are many names of Śiva in *Śiva-sahasranāma* starting with Viśva as their first member.[9] It is known that Samudra also is another name of Śiva. Accordingly, it is submitted that either Viśvapati or Visvapāṇi was the name used for narrating the purāṇic account of Samudragupta's reign; and that it was very appropriate that the biggest passage of the kind was reserved for him.

18 It is a pity that neither Fleet nor Pargiter, nor both working jointly, could detect this position. Unfortunately, Jayaswal was, obviously, far too much preoccupied with Vanasphara and with his objective of shaping a contrast between an oppressive Kuṣāṇa regime and a national revival under the Bhāraśiva Nāga rulers. Yet another opportunity for a correct identification had presented itself before Dasharatha Sharma, who was the first to elucidate the position about Devarakṣita etc. in 1949-54.[10]

---

[9] Cf. other names of Śiva in the *Sahastranāma* beginning with Viśva like Viśvataścakṣuḥ, Viśvatomukha / bāhu / pāda / Viśveśa, Viśvanātha, Viśvamūrti, Viśvaśāpūraka, Viśvavyāpin, Viśvādhika, Viśvādhi, Viśvavaktra, Viśvamūrdhā etc. cf. Dayāsamudra, Gangādhara. I have explained elsewhere how Samudragupta was a link between his Śaivite father and his *Parama-bhāgvata* son. The greater emphasis on Vaiṣṇava outlook was an innovation of Samudragupta, who, however, did not make a point of calling himself a *Bhāgvata* much less a *Parama-bhāgavata*,

[10] Sharma Dasharatha, Short notes, Journal of Ganganatha Jha Research Institute, Vol. 7, Allahabad, pp. 61 ff., 1949 ; and I.H.Q. Vol. XXX, 1954, pp. 375.

19 It can now be safely concluded that the Vaiṣṇavite Purāṇas, as were amended in the post-Gupta age, had incorporated in their text, what really purported to be a *prāśasti* of Samudragupta, which is, check by jowl, consistent with Hariṣeṇa's remarkable composition about this great emperor.

20 There remains one point which calls for clarification. If this 15-line passage was really related to Samudragupta, what can explain the *subsequent* reference to Nāgas of Mathurā, Kāntipurī and Padmāvatī, combined with that about the territories of the descendants of Gupta (*Guptavaṁśajāḥ*), in the oft quoted lines ? Should not this two-line account of the two dynasties, the Nāga and the Gupta, have *preceded* the narration of Samudragupta's career ? For, surely, the Nāga rulers were at the zenith of their power *before* receiving a knock-out blow from the founder of the Gupta empire ; and the other descendents of Gupta upto Samudragupta could have only meant Ghaṭotkacagupta and his son, Candragupta I. The answer seems to lie in the position that while adding to the Purāṇic text of the political history, the major fact of Samudragupta's biography was stated first and the reference to the preceding Nāga influence and Samudragupt's 2 successors in descent from Gupta, was added more as a foot note, to be followed by the accounts of the three individual successive rulers after Samudragupta. The 2-line reference forms the background, whose importance went on diminishing with the progress of time. History develops forward but its narration takes place in retrospect ; and the position of the Nāga rulers and the two successors of Samudragupta, has been specified to round off the description of his life and times. A narration posing to be prophetic could claim the liberty to do so ! !

Appendix I

(Pargiter's '*Text*' of Samudragupta's *praśasti*)

Māgadhānām mahā-vīryo
Viśvasphāṇir bhaviṣyati
utsādya pārthivān sarvān
so'nyān varṇān kariṣyati
Kaivartān Pañcakāṁśce / / aiva
Pulindān brāhmaṇāṁstathā
sthāpayiṣyati rājāno
nānā-deśeṣu te janā
Viśvasphāṇir mahā-sattvo
yuddhe Viṣṇu-samo balī

Māgadhānām to bhavitā
Viśvasphūrjiḥ purañ-jayaḥ

Kariṣyati aparān varṇān
Pulinda-Yadu-Madrakān

prajāś c / / àbrahma bhūyiṣṭhāḥ
sthāpayiṣyati durmatiḥ
vīryavān kṣetram utsādya
Padmāvatyām sa vai puri

Viśvasphāṇir narapatiḥ klīv-àkṛtir iv // ocyatē
utsādayitvā kṣatram tu kṣatram anyat kariṣyati

devān pitṛṁś ca viprāṁś ca tarpayitvā sakṛt punaḥ
Jāhnavī-tīram āsādya śarīram yaṁsyate balī
sannyasya sva-śarīram tu Śakra-lokam gamiṣyati.

—*The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, by
F. E. Pargiter, 1913, pp. 52-53.

Appendix II

मागधानाम् महावीर्यो
विश्वपाणेर्भविष्यति
उत्साद्य पार्थिवान्
सो अवकीर्णान् करिष्यति
किदारान् भद्रकांश्चैव
पुलिन्दान् ब्राह्मणास्तथा
स्थापयिष्यति राजानो
नानादेशेषु तेजसा
विश्वपाणिर्महासत्त्वो
युद्धे विष्णुसमो बली

मागधानां च भविता
विश्वपाणिः परंतपः

करिष्यति पुरोवर्णान्
मुरुण्ड-यौधेय-मद्रकान्

प्रजाश्च आब्रह्मभूयिष्ठाः
स्थापयिष्यति भूपतिः
वीर्यवान् क्षत्रं उत्साद्य
पद्मावत्यां स वै

विश्वपाणिर्नरपतीन् क्लीबाकृतीन् इव राजते
उत्सादयित्वा क्षत्रं तु क्षत्रं अन्यत् करिष्यति
देवान् पितॄंश्च विप्रांश्च तर्पयित्वा यथा क्रमम्
जाह्नवी तीरम् आसाद्य शरीरं यंस्यते बली
संन्यस्य स्व शरीरं तु शक्रलोकम् गमिष्यति ।

This reconstruction is mainly based on the variants noticed by Pargiter. A further examination along these lines is, obviously, necessary in the light of additional alternative readings. Pargiter has noted a reading in one manuscript of *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, with reference to the 4th line above, on the right, viz. "*Utsādya -akhila-kṣatra-jātim*", which is an exact echo of, "*Sarva rājocchettā*", a title exclusively reserved for Samudragupta by his descendants.

GEOGRAPHICAL FEATURES AS REFERRED TO IN DWĀRAKĀ MĀHĀTMYA*

By

SARADHA SRINIVASAN†

Dwārakā Māhātmya is the last part of *Prabhāsakhaṇḍa*, which is the seventh *khaṇḍa* of the voluminous *Skandapurāṇa*. This *māhātmya* comprises of forty four chapters dealing with the area, the holy spots in and around Dwārakā, their sanctity and the methods of worship. The present article is a comparative study of the geographical spots described in the *māhātmya* with those of the present-day Dwārakā.

This *māhātmya* has certain peculiar features. Generally, each *māhātmya* is narrated by one or two divine or semi divine persons or sages in the form of a dialogue or a narration. In this *māhātmya* there are three narrators, with quite a number of apparently contradictory statements. From the second chapter to the twenty second chapter, Prahlāda is said to describe the holy spots in and around Dwārakā to the sages. From chapter twenty third to twenty fifth, Mārkaṇḍeya praises the sanctity and greatness of Dwārakā to Indradyumna. Chapter twenty six and twenty seven are in the form of a dialogue between Īśwara and Skanda. In the twenty eighth chapter, Mārkaṇḍeya describes Vaiṣṇava *Vratas*. Finally, the remaining chapters are in the form of a narration by Prahlāda. There does not appear to be any continuity from one narration to another which had led to many discrepancies. Hence, there is a possibility of interpolations, over a long period of time, when several portions were added to the original.

Another factor is that the Purāṇakāra has stated as though Kṛṣṇa lived in the present town of Dwārakā. Purāṇakāra must have tried to correlate the present temple with Kṛṣṇa's Dwārakā, which according to *Mahābhārata* got submerged in the sea. Even *Dwārakā māhātmya* accepts that many of the *tīrtha*s got submerged into the sea.

The present day Dwārakā (22° 15′ N. 69°, O′ E) is situated on the right bank of Gomati creek. It is the head quarters of the Okhamandal taluka, in Jamnagar district, in the extreme north west of Saurashtra peninsula on the

---

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 35, Nos. 1-2, Sept.-Dec. '85 issue, pp. 229-234.

* This paper was sent to the 32nd sessions of the All India Oriental Conference, held at Ahmedabad.

† Department of Archaeology, M. S. University, Baroda, 390002.

Arabian sea. It is a station on Viramgham-Okha line, about 137 kms. west of Jamnagar. Dwāra meaning door, makes Dwārakā the gateway of India. Its importance, apart from being a Vaiṣṇava religious centre, can also be due to its being a port. Probably Lord Kṛṣṇa, the shrewd statesman of the Epic and Purāṇas must have chosen this spot for Yādavas to settle not only to be safe from Jarāsandhā's attacks, but, also recognising the possibility of establishing a flourishing overseas trade.

In *Dwārakā māhātmya*, the golden city was referred to as Kuśasthali, since it was founded by Kuśa (II; 4). In the *Avantikhaṇḍa* of *Skandapurāṇa*, however, it had been stated that the area came to be known as Kuśasthali, because Brahmā placed a handful of *kuśa* grass for Lord Kṛṣṇa, to identify the spot as a holy place for establishing the Yādava settlement and that this place was earlier known as Hemarśṛṅga. Thus, there is a contradiction in *Skandapurāṇa* itself about the name of the region.

In *Mahābhārata*, it is mentioned that the Yādavas had to flee from Mathurā and they migrated to Kuśasthali in the region known as Ānarta in Saurashtra, where at Kṛṣṇā's request, the sea-god gave a territory of over twelve *yojana*s and on that territory they founded the city of Dwārakā surrounded by moats on all sides filled with sea-water. Whatever may be the origin of Kuśasthali, the present Okhamandal taluka appears to have had the name Kuśasthali from the epic period.

All the ancient literary works agree that Dwārakā is on the western ocean and the river Gomati flows through it. At present, only the Gomati creek is seen and on its right bank Dwārakā is situated.

The areas of Dwārakā: The Purāṇakāras give three different figures about the areas of Dwārakā. When Krisṇa was describing his city to sage Durvāsa, he has indicated that Dwārakā is of twelve *yojana*s (II : 25). The extent of Dwārakā is of five *krośa*s according to Bṛhaspati (IV : 52). While describing the sanctity of Dwārakā, Prahlāda refers to it to be of ten *yojana*s (XXXV : 1). The first and the third statements indicate that Dwārakā must be about five hundred to thousand square kilometres. This covers the entire present Okhamandal taluka and some nearby places, since the Purāṇakāra mentions Piṇḍāraka also as part of Dwārakā region. While describing Dwārakā to Durvāsa, Kṛṣṇa mentioned that he lived with sixteen thousand wives and fifty six crores of Yādavas. This, of course, is an exaggeration to indicate the vastness of the area. This large area must be the Dwārakā kṣetra or the entire region while Bṛhaspati might have meant only Dwārakāpīṭha, which is the present town.

श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ समुद्रेण प्रदत्ता मे भूमि द्वादश योजना ॥ (II. 25)
बृहस्पतिरुवाच ॥ पञ्चकोशप्रमाणं हि तीर्थं तीर्थं बरोत्तमम् ॥ (IV. 52)
प्रह्लाद उवाच ॥ अहो क्षेत्रस्य माहात्म्यं संमताद्दशयोजनम् ॥ (XNXV. 1)

The Padmapurāṇa refers to Dwārakā as having thirty *yojanas* in one place (Uttara 246 : 40) and two *yojanas* in another place (Uttara 200 : 66). Here also kṣetra and pīṭha respectively must have been considered. The present day Okhamandal taluka is 716.6 sq. mts.

In Chapter XVII of the *māhātmya*, Prahlāda has described the temple of Kṛṣṇa to the sages, along with the method of worship. The Purāṇakāra has mentioned on various directions several deities, out of which only a few exist today. The temple has passed through the ravages of time by the saline water as well as the onslaughts of the Muslim invaders and has been renovated several times. Another point to note is that the terms Kṛṣṇamandiram (XXIX : 57), Kṛṣṇaprāsādam (IV : 31) were used for the temple and not for the present names Jagatmandir or the temple of Dwārakādhiśa or Raṇachoḍrāi. These appear to be of recent origin. Only once Dwārakeśa (XXX : 35) and in another place Dwārakānātha (XXX : 36) occur to describe Kṛṣṇa in the *māhātmya.*

The place where Gomati is brought by Vaśiṣṭha is called *Muktidwāra* (XVI : 13) in the *māhātmya.* At present, the entrance from the side of the sea is called *Swargadwāra* and is closed due to considerable encroachment on that side. The only entrance at present is from the bazaar side which is called *Mokṣadwāra*, facing east. The present temple has five storeys and Ambājī is installed on the topmost storey. It has been mentioned in the *māhātmya* that Bhṛgu has installed Ambikā (XVI 16). Entering from the *Mokṣadwāra*, on the southern side are Trivikrama, Bali, Śaunakas and Garuḍa, while on the northern side are Pradyumna and Anriuddha. Okhamandal has been connected with Aniruddha and Uṣā in several Purāṇas whereas that episode is missing in this *māhātmya.* ' On the western side is a small cell for Durvāsa Ṛṣi, whose visit to Dwārakā has been described in detail and also the episode, where Kṛṣṇa requests Durvāsa to stay in Dwārakā. Durvāsa accepted to stay in Dwārakā, as long as Kṛṣṇa stayed there. Nearby are the shrines of four paṭṭarāṇis, though the *māhātmya* mentions eight paṭṭarāṇis (XXII 34). In a corner of *Sabhāmaṇḍapa* is Baladeva. On the northern side in an underground cell is Kuśeśwara *liṅga.* There is a description about Viṣṇu killing *asura* kuśa and installing a *liṅga* over his dead body as requested by him, before his death (XX, XXI). Kuśeśwara *liṅga* must have been associated with this episode. Mahābali and Trivikrama episode is also described in the *māhātmya* and according to that Viṣṇu had to take permission from Mahābali to come to Dwārakā (XVIII, XIX).

Temples and tīrthas around the temple : West of this temple, on the Gomati creek is Cakratīrtha (V, VII, XXXII). About two kilometres north of the present Jagatmandir is Rukmiṇī temple, which has been renovated completely. Rukmiṇī was said to have been cursed by Durvāsa, to become an alcoholic and be separated from Kṛṣṇa (II : 48, 49). This can be the reason for keeping the

Rukmiṇī temple away from Kṛṣṇa's temple. The prosperous Rukmiṇīvana, also was said to have been cursed by Durvāsa to become barren and the water salty and undrinkable (III 51, 53). These are probable stories to explain the barrenness of the soil and the brackishness of the water.

Two kilometres further north of Rukmiṇī temple is Indreśwara Mahādeva temple. It is mentioned in the *māhātmya* that Indra installed the Indreśwara or Vṛddhiliṅga (XIV : 23). The present Indrakuṇḍa close to the temple may be the Indrasarovara mentioned in the *māhātmya*.

About two kilometres further is Swarṇatīrtha, and there is a ruined temple of Sūrya. Half a kilometer north of this place is Guhāditya temple.

Half a kilometer from the present Birla mandir is Siddheśwara Mahādeva mentioned in the *māhātmya* (XV : 11). The nearby Rāma temple appears to be of very recent origin. According to local tradition Siddheśwara and Bhadrakāli temples were built by Adi Śaṅkarācārya. Krkalāśakuṇḍa is further on the way to ACC Industrial area (X).

Five kilometres to the east of Dwārakā is Baradia village, where there is a temple dedicated to Lakṣmaṇā, the queen of Sāmbha, son of Jāmbavatī. The small pool might have been Sāmbatīrtha mentioned in the *māhātmya* (XXII, XXVI).

About sixteen kilometres, north east of Dwārakā is Nāgeśwara (22°, 17′ N, 69°, 10′ E) and the *liṅga* there is considered to be one of the twelve *Jyotirliṅga*s according to *Śiva purāṇa* (*Katirudrasaṁhitā* Ch. I). The lake in front of this temple has pure water and this must have been Nāgatīrtha of the *māhātmya*. Further north of Nāgeśwara is a lake called Gopitalava at present. This may be the Gopisaras of the *māhātmya* (XIII).

Vasai (22° 19′ N, 69°, O’ E) is a small village 9.6 kms North east of Dwārakā. According to inscriptional evidence, the old name is Kanakapuri. There is a Kanakeśwara Mahādeva temple, in a dilapidated condition, dated to 10th century A.D. There are broken images of Yakṣa, Yakṣinī etc.

On the way to Vasai 6.4 kms is the village Varavala (22°, 19′ N, 68°, 4′ E) where there is a Sun temple. The *māhātmya* mentions a few Sun temples in Dwārakā.

Piṇḍāra (22°, 15 N, 69° 33′ E) which was mentioned as Piṇḍāraka (in Kalyanpur taluka) in the *māhātmya* is about forty kilometers east of Dwārakā with several temples in a ruined state. A deserted temple is attributed to Durvāsa and an Agnikuṇḍa, closeby is known as Durvāsa kuṇḍa.

Śaṅkhoddhāra is in Bet Dwāraka (22°, 28′ N, 69°, 8′ E). Visiting Śaṅkhoddhāra, where Kṛṣṇa is said to have resided with Rukmiṇī, is considered sacred. This island is thirty two kilometres from Dwārakā and one has to go by launch from Port Okhā. There are many temples in dilapidated condition. At present it is a sacred place of pilgrimage for the devotees of Vallabhācārya.

Mulvasar (22°, 16′ N, 69°, 10′ E) is an old village sixteen kilometres north east of Dwārakā, where there is an inscription of Rudradāman dated 176 A.D. This may be the Mūlasthāna referred to in the *māhātmya*, where Brahmā was supposed to have installed the Sun (XIV : 67).

So far I have tried to identify the main geographical names mentioned in the *māhātmya*, with the present locations, along with the temples and the *tīrtha*s. The following aspects attract attention. Most of the periphery of the temple with shrines for various gods appears to have been destroyed or encroached upon. As a matter of fact, the recent excavations reveal that many of the shops on the *Mokśadwāra* region are standing on the old foundations of a larger temple. Thus, the temple described by the Purāṇakāra does not relate to the ancient Kṛṣṇa's abode but only the temple, which probably of 14th century, though some sculptures in the niches can be dated earlier. As a matter of fact, it has been recorded in ancient literature, that Kṛṣṇa's Dwārakā got submerged into the sea just prior to Kṛṣṇa's death.

Many of the temples in Dwārakā and the neighbouring regions are identifiable with similar names even today and many of these appear to be from 12th to 14th century A.D.

All these indicate *Dwārakā māhātmya* or certain portions must have been written after 14th century. In addition to these geographical reasons, it is possible to confirm this date even by many statements like *Ānartaviṣaya* becoming the abode of the *daitya*s devoid of the sounds of Veda (XVIII : 18).

अनर्त्त विषयं प्राप्य दैत्यभूमि विवेश देह ।
निःस्वाध्याय वषट्कारं वेदध्वनि विवर्जितम् ॥ XVIII. 72

Mlechhas overrunning the region and interfering with Brahmanical rites, ladies ruling the kingdom etc. (I : 51 : XVIII : 19).

विटैर्जितावेदमार्गा स्त्रिभिश्च पुरुषा जिताः ।
ब्राह्मणश्चापि वध्यन्ते म्लेच्छै राजन्य रुपिभिः I. 51

As a matter of fact the well chronicled attack on Oakhamandal was that of Tabaquat-I-Akbari, where Mahmud Beghada seems to have chased Raja Bhim and even attacked him at Śaṅkhoddhāra and destroyed several temples in 1473 A.D. (III, p. 151).

Further the *māhātmya* makes reference to Sanyāsins and the ways to pay homage to them (XXXVIII) indicating the influence of Ādi Śaṅkarācārya (8th century). Moreover Vaiṣṇavite rites associated with Puṣṭimārgīya Vaiṣṇavites show Vallabhācārya's influence (15th Century). There are also references that

Dwārakā and Somnātha have similar sanctity and only by visiting both the places will complete the pilgrimage (XXIV : 50) indicate the rapport between Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism.

यात्रा सोमनाथस्य संपूर्णा कृष्णदर्शनात् (XXIII. 136)
दृष्ट्वा सोमेश्वरं देवं गंतव्यं द्वारकां प्रति ॥ (137.)

Regarding the interpolations among many other portions, one can consider that the *māhātmya* ended with the thirty eighth chapter with the colophon.

इति श्रीस्कांदे महापुराण एकाशीति सहस्रयां संहितायां सप्तमे प्रभास खण्डे चतुर्थे द्वारका माहात्म्ये गोमती तीरगत द्वारका चक्रतीर्थयोर्जागरादि महात्म्य वर्णनं नामाष्टात्रिंशत्तमोध्यायः

Merits of reading this mahatmya occur in this chapter.

Inspite of the ravages of the saline water, the tidal waves and the strong sea and also iconoclastic vandalism many of the temples survived and some of them got repaired without being able to be recognised as old structures.

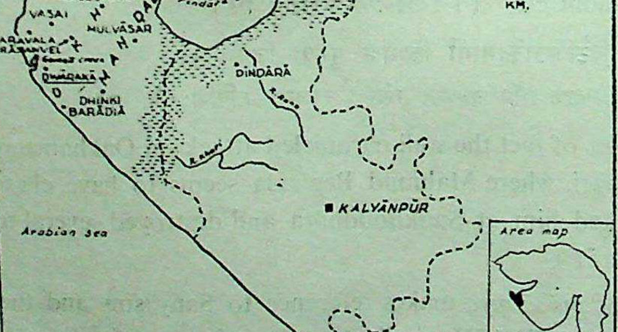
Bibliography

1 " *Dwārakā Māhātmya* ", pub. by, Sri Venkateśwara Steam Press, Bombay, Samvat 1966.

2 *Padma Purāṇam*, *Uttarakhaṇḍa*, Nag Publishers, 11 A/4 A. Jawaharnagar, Delhi 7, Samvat 1952.

3 *Śiva Purāṇa*, Vol III, pub. by Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi, 1970.

4 Edward Cline Bayley, " *Local Muhammadan dynasties of Gujarat* ", S. Chand + Co. 1970.


GEOGRAPHICAL FEATURES AS GLEANED FROM
DWĀRAKĀ MĀHĀTMYA
BEYT
SANKHODDHAR
NĀGESWAR
VASAI
VARAVALA
BRĀHMVEL
MULVĀSAR
DWĀRAKĀ
DHINKI
BARĀDIA
Pindārā bay
DINDĀRĀ
KALYĀNPŪR
Arabian sea
0 5 10 15
KM.
Area map
GUJARAT

A NOTE ON THE PLACE-NAMES OF VADODARA DISTRICT†

By

INDRA G. BHAGIA*

The study of place-names attracted the attention of many scholars of various disciplines in the Western world during the last century. In India the study was first undertaken by linguists. However the epigraphists have tried to identify the names of places occurring in copperplates and other inscriptions. Excellent work in this direction was carried out by scholars like Bhagwanlal Indraji, Buhler and others. H. D. Sankalia has tried to make a study of certain place-names in Gujarat on geographical evidence in his "Studies in the historical and cultural geography and ethnography of Gujarat" (1949). Umashankar Joshi studied the names occurring in the Purāṇās (1946). Though these were good studies, they did not concentrate on any specific localities. Studies of specific localities were carried out by Dr. R. N. Mehta who worked on the place names of Baroda City (1962), Baroda Taluka (1965), Padra Taluka (1965), etc. His studies indicate that there is a good scope for understanding many aspects of culture of specific localities from their place-names. It is true that place-names study certainly throws light on philological problems. But, the co-ordination of scholars of various disciplines like history, geography, etymology and even biology is necessary for understanding the etymology of the place-names.

It is evident that a place is older than man, but the naming of places occurs only when the places are inhabited by people. Naming as a human activity has its roots only in language and so are the place-names.

Indeed the naming system is rooted firmly within a language. It also occupies a very important part of human culture and gives ready and authentic evidence of cultural heritage of mankind. Place-naming ramifies into many branches of human activity. In one way or the other, place-names supply an unwritten record of history as they themselves preserve history through centuries ogether. With the study of place-names, one can understand the habits of ncient people and their way of life, what kind of animals were tamed by them, what they cultivated, their religious beliefs, their knowledge about the local

---

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 35, Nos. 3-4, March-June '86 issue, pp. 235-240

† This article is based on the author's thesis, entitled "*A Study of lace-Names of Baroda District (Gujarat) India*". M. S. U.; 1984.

* 16—Naina Society, Near Sapna Cinema, Makerpura Road, Vadodara-0 009.

nomenclature and even their poetic way of thinking in naming the places. So, the study of place-names is quite interesting not only to a linguist but also to the anthropologist, and archaeologist.

Neither written records nor any other reliable sources are often available for most of the place-names in India. The names of important cities and places are found in Gazetteers, Census reports and Survey maps. Even the names mentioned by foreign travellers and historians in their books are full of frauds. They look very strange when they are transliterated into Dravidian or Devanāgarī scripts. The only reliable evidence at present is to be sought in inscriptions. Even then, they do not shed adequate light on the original forms of names or their historical evolution. This is because the names could have passed through many hands before they are actually inscribed on stones, copper-plates etc. Moreover, only a few names connected with historical events or of religious importance will find place in inscriptions. Literary sources are more or less dependable.

The rural folk endowed with imaginary skill are adept in weaving legends and tales around place-names. Generally, their historical and mythological knowledge comes into play in such circumstances, for example :

The current derivation of a name seems to be based on geographical historical, cultural, religious and other factors.

Constant change is a characteristic of a living language. Place-names als alter linguistically as and when language changes. The original form is liable t change due to the change in language and pronunciation of people.

Studies and researches in place-names will have a tremendous impact o anthropological, historical, sociological, linguistic, geographical and cultur studies. It is, therefore, very necessary that a researcher, before he actual engages himself in the study of place-names, has to establish contacts wi geographers, historians, archaeologists, anthropologists, epigraphists, linguis folklorists and even literary people. Each place-name should be studied fro all these angles. Even when he feels that a certain derivation is correct, should try all the other means of verification, after which only he can come to definite conclusion as regards its validity.

My aim in this study is to examine the place-names of Vadodara Distr from different angles such as language, geography, flora, fauna and social beli and thereby to understand the natural and social phenomena connected wi their cultural growth.

The present study of the place-names of Vadodara District shows wh traditions of giving names have been continued from early times till tod These names reveal the original inhabitants of certain parts of Vadodara Distri Along with these, the pasture lands for the herds were also associated convenient names were given to them. Other than these, there are certain names showing the professions which people of this region followed in early times and continued till today. Religion which is associated with the life of man has also played an important role. According to different religious beliefs and names of Gods and Goddesses, various places were named, Some of the names refer to natural geographical factors, such as rivers, hills, streams, lakes, ponds and also various types of plants, bushes and animals.

Besides these, the influence of different languages like Gujarati, Sanskrit, Urdu, Persian and even Arabic can be seen in the place-names of the district.

Thus, the district shows that the tradition of naming places continues to be the same as it was in ancient and medieval periods.

Vadodara district has many geographical features such as rivers, small mound. hills and forests. These are also seen among the place-names. The names like *Saṅkheḍā*, which was originally *Saṅgamkheṭaka* from which Saṅkheḍā was derived suggests the confluence of two rivers. (the Unch and the Orsang).

There are certain names which represent uneven land. The place-names like *Moti Bhadol* indicate the rivines and brokenland surface where a settlement was situated. There are totally 79 names of this type in the district. They form about 4.8% of the total. Even the terms like *tekrā* or *tekdi* are used for settlements. Place-names may sometimes be associated with personal names, for examples, *Joban Tekri* which suggests upraised nature of the area is indicated by *Timbi*, *Kānda*, *Pindapā* associated with a personal name. There are 57 names of this type and form about 3.4% of the total.

Many of the place-names are formed on the basis of flora and fauna. Various types of vegetation have been utilised for giving names. The flora include large trees, plants or bushes and various types of grass. Among the village names derived from large trees are *Ambāli*, *Āmodar*, *Bil*, *Borda*, *Gundi*, *Gugal Pipaliyā* and *Vadodara*. There are 326 such names. This form 20% of the total. Such names have been widely used in almost all parts of the district. They give an idea of the forests and pastures with different types of trees that were existing in this area in the past.

Sometimes, after clearing certain areas which are full of thorny bushes or grass, the new settlements seem to have taken place and they were named accordingly. For example, *Sihor*, which is derived from *Sinhod* which means a variety of cactus. In Gujarat such plants are found in plenty. There are totally 59 place-names forming about 3.6% of the total. Similarly *Madāpur* is named after small shrubs called *Madā* which is a type of intoxicating vegetation. After removing it a village came into existence in that area and was named *Madāpur*. The villages *Chhatri*, *Kamboi*, *Ambādā* are of similar nature. There are 38 such villages that constitute about 2.3%.

Moreover, a variety of grasses e.g. *Kānsia*, *Kāns*, *Dabha*, *Munj* have given names to villages in the district. There are 34 villages of this type and form about 2% of the total.

Along with floral names, there are some names which indicate fauna. This may be due to the existence of a particular type of animal in an area. In Vadodara district *Vāghodia*, *Harni*, *Hāthikhānā*, *Gojāli* seem to belong to this group. There are 43 villages bearing such names. This form about 2.6% of the total.

Place-names were also given on the basis of human activity in a region. They include names of castes and professions.

There are also many place-names which were named after personal names. Among these names some belong to Hindu community and some to Muslim or Parsi community. The names belonging to Hindu community are *Shankerpurā*, *Shāhpurā* and *Ratanpurā*. Whereas Muslim names such as *Subhānpurā Sultānpurā*, *Nizāmpurā*, were derived from the Muslims community. The study of these names indicates that they were mostly used in mediaeval period and sometimes continued upto modern times. There are 336 such names. This forms about 20.6% of the total in Vadodara District.

Sometimes, names of social groups are used in giving place-names. The names like *Bājwā*, *Chāpad*, *Dodkā* are their examples. These village-names have prefix like *Bāj*, *Chāp*, *Dod*. These show the names of groups of Rajputs. Besides these, the place-names like *Khānpur*, *Nizāmpurā* have prefix like *Khān* and *Nizām* which are the positions in the administrative system of the Sultān and Mughal periods. There are totally 58 villages in this group and they form about 3.5% of the total.

There are certain village-names which are associated with religion or the names of Gods and Goddesses, such as *Amreshwar*, *Delvādā*, *Narsipurā*, *Devmori*, *Kanteshwar*, *Nandesari* and *Rāmnāth*. Even Nandi, the *Vāhana* of Lord Śiva also occurs in the place-name. The name *Ramnāth* is also attached with *Śaiva* sect. *Ganeshvad* suggests the worship of Gaṇeśa. Among the place-names, there are certain names like *Hinglot* and *Sindhrot*. These indicate worship of Goddess Hinglaj *Sinhvai*. Forty three village names of this group form about 2.6% of the total in the district.

There are certain place-names which indicate professional names which are like *Kalāli*, *Gorwā*, *Kumbhārwaḍ*, *Delwāḍā*, *Dobhiwāḍā*. All these names contain words like *Kalāl*, *Gor*, *Kumbhār*, *Dud*, *Dobhi* and are suggestive of various professions ; these types of villages are based on professions and community practicing it.

There are other names like *Bāmaṇvas*, *Chāṇsad*, *Sayadpurā*, *Rāykā*, etc. that represent different communities like *Brāhmaṇ*, *Chān*, *Kumbhār*, *Sayad*, *Rāy*

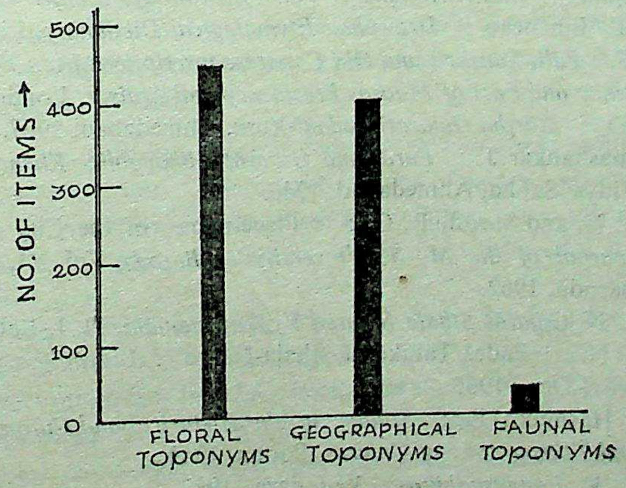
Often, the demarcation between the profession and social group is very thin and over-lapping. From the point of language, it has to be noted that Sanskrit, Gujarati, Dravidian, Arabic, Persian, Marathi are represented. The emphasis here is on the linguistic analysis of the place-names which helps to uncover the etymology, so that a reasonable meaning of the term could be arrived at.

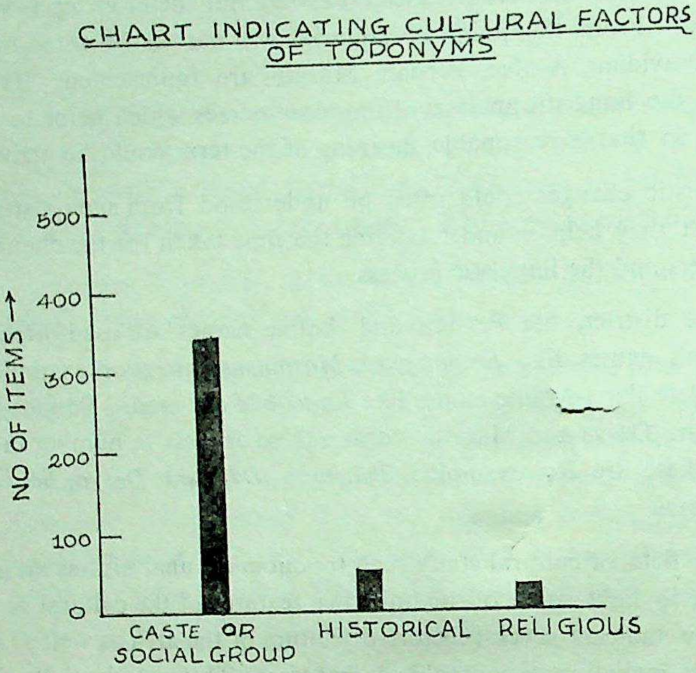
Linguistic changes could often be understood from such a study. When records exist they help in understanding the time taken for the change and help one to understand the linguistic process.

In the district, the Persian and Arabic names are used often with local words. Such names like *Ibrahimpurā*, *Mastanpurā* are good examples. Sometimes complete Parsi-Arabic names like *Rasulābād* are used. Besides these there are Dravidian, Deśya and Marathi words ; these are less in number in Vadodara District. These are for example : *Bhāupurā*, *Dājipurā*, *Deśya*, *Bālvānt*, *Ruvād*, and *Dhoḷisimal.*

In the field of cultural study such toponomical analysis has an importance for bringing to light some of the unknown features of the cultural growth of an area as they indicate several factors of culture of the area as well as its natural environment, including topographical features. Their study will yield much useful information.

CHART INDICATING NATURAL FACTORS OF TOPONYMS





Acknowledgement

I am grateful to Professor R. N. Mehta and Professor D. D. Mahulkar and Professor K. T. M. Hegde (Head, Department of Archaeology) for going through this article and offering me valuable suggestions.

References

1 Acharya, Girjashankar V. : *Historical Inscriptions of Gujarat*. Part I-II-III, Forbes Gujarati Sabha Series, Bombay, 1935-37.

2 Burgess, James : " On the identification of places in Sanskrit Geography of India ". *Indian Antiquary*. Vol. 14, Bombay, 1885.

3 Burrow, T. Emencau : *Drāwidian Etymological Dictionary*, London, 1961.

4 Fleet, J. F. : *Pāli, Sanskrit and Old Canarese inscriptions from Bombay Presidency and Part of Madras Presidency and Maisur*, London, 1878.

5 Desai, J. D. : *Sārtha Gujaratī Joḍaṇī-Koṣa*, Ahmedabad, 1967.

6 Joshi, Umashankar J. : *Purāṇamā Gujarāt—Bhaugolic Khaṇḍa*. Gujarat Vidya Sabha, Ahmedabad, 1946.

7 Mehta, R. N. and Shroff, R. G. : " Place-names of the City of Baroda ". *Journal of the M. S. University of Baroda*, Vol. XI, No. 1, April, Baroda, 1962.

8 Mehta, R. N. *Gujarāt Sthala Saṁsad Vyākhyānamāḷā*, Pt. I, Vadodara, 1965.

9 Mehta, R. N. : " Padrā Tālukā-nā-sṭhaḷa-Nāmo ". *Vidyāpīṭha*. Ahmedabad, Nov.-Dec., 1965.

10 Sankalia, Hasmukh D. : *Studies in the Historical and Cultural Geography and Ethnography of Gujarat*, Poona, 1949.

11 Shastri, K. K. *Vanauṣadhikoṣa*, Vadodara, 1982.

THREE ŚAKTI PĪTHAS OF GUJARAT**

By

Miss V. T. Padmaja*

Power to perform work is termed as '*Śakti* in Sanskrit '[1]. The divinity in feminine form is believed as prime universal power which supports, preserves and destroys the universe or the total expression of life itself. She is variously known as Ambikā, Lakṣmī, Kālī, Caṇḍī, Cāmuṇḍā, Tripurasundarī and Rājēśvari depending on the emphasis laid on the different characteristics of life like benevolence, malevolence etc.

Places of worship of these goddesses that became prominent came to be known as *pīṭhas*, *upapīṭhas* and *siddhapīṭhas*. The word *pīṭha* means *āsana* or seat.[2] It, therefore, indicates a special centre of worship of *Devī*.

The *Dakṣayajñavidhvaṁsa* explains the mythological explanation of the origin of the *pīṭhas*. According to this version *Satī*, the consort of Śiva, reached her father's house uninvited and she had to face insults showered on her husband by Dakṣa, her father. She was much defamed and ended her life by jumping into the sacrificial fire. Śiva extremely enraged, carried her body on his shoulders and began to roam aimlessly. This situation created anxiety among gods. In order to pull Satī's dead body down Viṣṇu with his *cakra* cut the corpse into many pieces and scattered the limbs all over India and it is believed that all those localities where her limbs fell became '*Śakti-pīṭhas*'. The mythical belief, therefore, is that in order to identify a *pīṭha* two main characteristics should be present ; the first being *Bhairava* and the second being *Aṅgapratyaṅga*. *The Dévīsthānas* which are not associated with Satī's physical parts are known as *upa-pīṭhas*. Among them some are known as *siddha-pīṭhas*, where at least one *sādhaka* had attained *siddhi*.

It is common that almost all religious centres are explained with a background of mythical origin. The mortal remains of saints and savants are said to be existing in the centres upon which the buildings are constructed to indicate their importance. Among Buddhists it is commonly believed that mortal remains

---

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 35, Nos, 3-4 March-June '86 issue, pp. 241-247

** Paper submitted to 32nd session of the All India Oriental Conference held at Ahmedabad, from 7th to 9th November 1985.

* Research Associate, Department of History, Calicut University, Calicut, Kerala.

of Buddha's nail, hair, teeth and ashes were distributed and upon them caityas were built, such beliefs make the centre important.

Purāṇas and Śākta literature refer to the *Śakti-pīṭhas*. The *Hēvajratantra*[3] refers to four *pīṭhas*. Later works increased the number of *pīṭhas* perhaps because of the growing popularity of mother goddess worship. The *Kālikā-purāṇa*[4] gives an account of seven *pīṭhas* *Rudrayāmāla*[5] of 10 *pīṭhas*, *Kubjikātantra* of 42 *pīṭhas*,, *Jñānārṇavatantra* of 50 *pīṭhas* *Tantrasāra* of 51 *pīṭhas* and *Pīṭha-nirṇaya* of 51 *pīṭhas*. *Śivacarita* supplies a list of 51 *pīṭhas* and 26 *upapīṭhas*[6]. The *Matsyapurāṇa*[7] and the *Dēvibhāgavatapurāṇa*[8] accounts for 108 *pīṭhas*. Out of 108 *pīṭhas* mentioned in the *Matsyapurāṇa*[9] and *Dēvibhāgvata purāṇa*[10], seven *pīṭhas* can be identified as existing in the region of Gujarat. They are *Mātā* in Kāyāvarōhaṇa, Dhṛti in Pindāra, Dhvani in Śankhōdhāra, Varārōha in Somēśvara, Puṣkarāvatī in Prabhāsa, Rukmini*mātā* in Dwārka, Abhaya*mātā* in Uṣṇatīrtha (Beyt Dwarka). However to correlate the literary evidences with the sites will require much archaeological work.

The common belief of the people of Gujarat is that Ambājī, Bahucarāji, and Kāḷikāmātā at Pavagaḍh are the main *pīṭhas* where the limbs of Sati had fallen. At Ambāji it is said that the breast of Satī had fallen, right hand at Bahucarāji and Pādāṇguli at Pāvāgaḍh.[11] This belief gives religious sanctity to these places which are archaeologically studied here.

Ambājī is situated in the Danta Taluka of Banaskantha district in Gujarat. The granite outcrop of Gabbar with its domical shape resemble the breast. The physical correlation of forms might have influenced the people for developing the belief. However references in the *Matsyapurāṇa*,[12] the *Kāḷikāpurāṇa*[13] and *Pīṭhanirṇaya*[14] are that Satī's breast has fallen in Jalandhar in Punjab. A good survey of this *tīrṭha* is necessary to verify the physical features of the area to identify features resembling Sati's breast.

Bahucarāji is situated in the Chanasma Taluka of Mehsana district of Gujarat. A similar controversy exists here also. The *Pīṭhanirṇaya* mentions that Satī's hand had fallen at Bahulā, which has all the qualities of a *Pīṭha*[15] viz. *Bhairava* and *Aṅgapratyaṅga*. The *Pīṭhanirṇaya* has not mentioned left or right hand had fallen at Bahulā. The belief that right hand had fallen at Bahucarāji can be accepted on the ground that it can be the left hand that had fallen at Bahulā. However the people of the area believe that Sati's right hand has fallen at Bahucarāji.

The third *pīṭha* is said to be the Kālikāmātā of Pavagadh, situated in the Halol taluka of Panchmahal District. It can be identified as *Kāḷipīṭha* mentioned in the list of *Pīṭhanirnaya*. However D.C. Sircar identifies Kāḷīpīṭha as Kāḷīghāṭa of Calcutta.[16] This view of D. C. Sircar is not acceptable and it can be shown that both Kāḷipīṭha and Kāḷighāṭa must be different and situated at different localities.

The Bhairava attached to the Kāḷipīṭha is Lakuliśa. Lakuliśa sect had originated and developed in Gujarat at Kāyāvarohaṇa in the Dabhoi taluka of Baroda district and located 76 km away from Pavagadh. To believe the influence of Lakuliśa sect from far away Calcutta is not too easy. It is easier to accept Lakuliśa influence at Pavagadh; to form Kāḷipīṭha. The second point is that in the list of *Pīṭhanirṇaya* the author may not have intended to show that both Kāḷipīṭha and Kāḷighāṭa are one and the same. From the above discussion it can be observed that Kāḷīpīṭha is not at Calcutta. So far no other place has been identified with Kāḷipīṭha. The existance of this *pīṭha* at Pavagadh is therefore more justified.

Temple-worship is known as *saguna* method of worship. The presiding deity is believed to have life and all its functions resemble those of a live being. The oblations offered and festivals celebrated are similarly meant to please the human character of the deity.

Temple-rituals can broadly be divided into two main categories : the daily performances and occasional celebrations. In the early morning the deity is awakened by chanting Vedic hymns and the *abhiṣeka* with *pañchāmṛta* and water is performed and the adornments like *kumkum*, turmeric pastes are applied along with flowers and flower garlands. The *mangala Arati* is performed in the early morning after the ceremonial worship. At noon *thāl* is offered as *naivedya*. It is know as *Rājabhoga*. *Śayana āratī* with milk alone as *Bhoga* is performed in the evening.

It is interesting to note that at all these three *Śakti pīṭhas* the *yantra* worship is common. However the form of *yantras* worshipped are different. *Visoyantra*, *Bālātripurayantra* and *Kāḷīyantra* are worshipped at Ambāji, Bahucarāji and *Kāḷikāmatā* of Pavagadh respectively.

The adornments are so arranged above the yantra that it appears to the worshipper that the idol is fully decorated and it is known as *Angi*. In the early morning the decorations are made in such a way as to make the goddess appear like a maiden, at noon a fullfledged woman and in the evening like an old lady, parallel to the life as well. The mornings are fresh and young, the noon symbolises the middle age and the evening is the closing of the day and it symbolises the decadent shape of life. The representations of the *Angi* present phases of life; birth, growth and decay or *kaumāra*, *yauvana* and *vārdhakhya*.

The decorations forming the *Angis* are also different on each week day at *Ambāji* and *Bahucharāji*. However there is no variation of *vāhana* and form at *Kālikāmātā* of Pavagaḍh. To compare the *vāhana* decorated at Ambāji and Bahucarāji there seems to be some variations. They are as follows :

Day	Ambāji	Bahucarāji
Sunday	Tiger	Cock—Bālātripurāsundarī
Monday	Nandī	Nandī — Gaurī
Tuesday	Lion	Lion — Durgā
Wednesday	Airāvata	Tiger — Ambikā
Thursday	Garuḍa	Haṁsa — Brahmāṇi
Friday	Haṁsa	Peacock — Sarasvatī
Saturday	Elephant	Elephant — Indrāṇi

From the above table it can be seen that on Sunday Ambāji's *vāhana* is a tiger, while at Bahucarāji it is a cock. It is because the original *vāhana* of Ambājī is a tiger and Bahucarāji or Bālatripurāsundari's *vāhana* is 'cock'. Since Sunday is the starting day of the week, their original *vāhanas* identifying the nature of the deity are shown at first. It can be seen that *Airāvata* and *Garuḍa* are not shown as *vāhana* at Bahucarāji, while at Ambāji 'cock' and 'peacock' are absent.

The representation of *Angis* with *vāhana* has more affinity to *Saptamātṛkā* worship. However to compare the *Saptamātṛkā* figurines Nandī with Maheśvari, Elephant with Aindrī, Garuḍa with Vaiṣṇavi, Haṁs with Brahmāṇī and "peacock" with Kaumāri are seen to be used in these *pīṭhās*. The other *vāhanas* with figurines cannot be identified with *Mātṛkas*.

At Ambaji the ghee is exclusively used in the temple for *Joyti*, cooking purpose etc. Inside the temple celibacy is to be practised, otherwise the defaulter will face unhappiness. *Rajasvalās* are strictly prohibited inside the temple. It is a belief that the Ambajī's *triśūl*, will oscillate if a *Rajaswalā* woman enters during day time and in the night *Jyoti* will spark out until the lady gets out of the temple.

Among the occasional celebrations *Navarātrī* is important in all the three *pīṭhas*. During the year four *Navarātris* occur in the months of *Aśvina*, *Caitra*, *Āsādha* and *Māgha*. *Aśvina Navrātri* is common to all these *pīṭhas*. At *Bahucarāji Caitra-Navarātri* is also celebrated. At Pavagadh *Aśvina*, *Caitra* and *Māgha Navarātri* are important.

Jawārās are sown on the first day of *Navarātri* near the *Aṅgi*. A *Kumbha* or an earthern pot filled with pure water is placed in the centre of the *Jawārā* sproutings. The goddess is invoked and worshipped with sixteen rites daily upto *Navami*. Different types of *naivedya* is offered on each day. *Garaba* and *Bhavai* are performed during nights. A *Havana* or a sacrifice is an important rite on the eighth day at the alter itself. Nine varieties of *naivedya* are offered at that time. *Jawārās* are removed in the morning of Dassera day, the tenth day of *Navarātri* and worshipped before immersing them in the nearby *kuṇḍ*. Symbolic new flags are also hoisted on that day on the temple tower. At *Bahucarāji* evidences show that a buffalo was being sacrificed on the 14th day of *Aśvina*, fifty years back. At Pavagadh the *caṇḍipāth* is recited for nine days during the *Aśvina Navarātri*. The *Saptaśatīpātha* and *sahastracaṇḍīyajña* is also another rite performed in the *Māgha Navarātri* at Pavagadh.

It is common to celebrate the birthday of the deity at Pavagadh and Ambājī. The eighth day of *Caitra Navarātri* is believed to be the birthday of Mahākāli of Pavagadh. The occasion is celebrated by the devotees with much enthusiasm. The fifteenth day of the bright half of the month of Pauṣa is believed to be the birthday of Ambājī. The pilgrims and the local people assemble that day to arrange *annakūṭa* in front of the deity. These pilgrims are exclusively those who have undertaken a vow to visit Ambājī on every fullmoon day of the preceding year. Besides, the fullmoon days of *Bhōdrapada*, *Aśvina*, and *Kārtika* are also celebrated at Ambājī.

Ambaji is a family-deity of Nāgar-Brahmins, while three families of *Audichya* Brahmins of Siddhapur in Mehsana district jointly officiate as *Bhattjis* or main priests of this temple. After the taking over of the management of this temple by the government, learned Brahmins from other families are also being appointed here.

The branches of the family of *Shrigoḍ* Brahmins have the hereditary rights to perform the rituals at the Kāḷikāmātā of Pavagadh. The period of the priest is rotary i.e. in rotation of two years. A priest holds the charge for a period of every two years.

Either *Audicya* or *Śrīmālī* Brahmins perform the rites at Bahucarāji.

Brahmins, therefore, hold high status in the society because of their status conferred on them as spiritual heads. It is told that even non-Brahmin priests were appointed after 1859 A.D. to conduct the offering of flesh and liquor at Bahucarāji. Presently the worship is of *sāttvika* form and therefore the non-Brahmin priests are not employed.

Bhils of the area assume special status both at Ambājī and Kālikāmātā of Pavagadh. They hold the right to take away the oblations offered by the worshippers to the deity.

The musicians and servants of Bahucarāji are *Kamaliyās*, a sect of Muslims. They worship Bahucarāji and bear *triśūla* as a symbol of their faith to the Goddess.

Alauddin Khilji (A.D. 1296 to 1316) after capturing the temple area made forcible conversion of the inmatas of the temple. They now remain as a sect within Islam and observe the routines of Islam except for their worship at Bahucarāji.

The *pawayas* or *eunuchs* are also in the service of Bahucarāji. The general belief is that these *Pawayas* are the prostitutes with permute practices. They wear dresses of female with a male turban.

As the *pīṭha*s developed, they became centres of pilgrimage and therefore arrangements for staying and other requirements were also developed in the vicinity of the centres. The area grew with commercial activities forming towns of economic importance.

The pilgrims often reach the temples for performance of *Saṁskāras*. At Ambājī " *Muṇḍana ceremony* " is common. It is believed that Yaśoda performed Kṛṣṇa's *Muṇḍana*-ceremony at Ambājī.

The patronage of kings and feudataries elevated the temple to a high position. Parmaras patronised Ambājī, Bahucarāji by Solankis and Kalikamata by Chauhans. It is seen that the growth and the development of these *pīṭhas* can be traced from 11th cent. onwards, mostly with the patronage of kings.

On the basis of the modelling and the stylised ornamentation of the sculptures found at Ambājī—this pīṭha can be dated to 6th-7th cent. A.D.

Śakti-worship is deeply rooted in Gujarat. It can be said that the Tāntric way of worship is in existance in all the *pīṭha*s. Temple-festivals like *Navarātri* is not only confined to the area of the temple but the celebrations are scattered far and wide to every nook and corner. *Garabā* is performed during *navarātri*; socially Śakti-worship has brought out oneness in the society. The faith of the people of Gujarat in the Śakti-worship has survived the onslaughts of Alauddin Khilji and other invaders. The devotion of *Kamaliyas* to *Bahucarāji* is an instance that could be explained as Śakti-cult had predomintance over the alien faiths. In the process of the growth of *Śakti*-centres the surrounding areas have also been developed into commercial markets where a number of people are engaged in the activities to provide facilities to the pilgrims. In course of time these localities have developed into small towns of social and commercial importance.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to Prof. R. N. Mehta and Prof. S. G. Kantawala for their guidance.

References

1 Macdonell, A. A., *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, 1893, p. 305.

2 *Śabdakalpadruma*, Motilal Benarasidas, 1961, p. 159.

3 Sircar D. C., *Śakti-pīthas*, University of Calcutta, 1948, p. 12.

4 Shastri Bisvanarain (ed.), *Kāḷikāpurāṇa*, Ch. XVIII, V. 42-51, p. 99.

5 Bagchi, P. C., *Studies in the Tantras*, Pt. I, University of Calcutta, 1943, pp. 4-7.

6 Sircar, D. C., *op. cit.*, pp. 23-24, 1921.

7 Jivanand Vidyasagar Bhattacharya, *Matsya Purāṇa*, Ch. XIII, V. 26-63.

8 Acharya Sriram Sarma, *Dēvibhāgavata Purāṇa*, Khand II, v. 33-61, pp. 76-78.

9 *Matsyapurāṇa*, *op. cit.*, Ch. XIII, v. 38, 42, 43, 48.

10 *Dēvibhāgavatapurāṇa*, *op. cit*. Khand II, Ch. XII, v. 47, 50, 51, 56, pp. 76-77.

11 Mehta, N. D., *Śākta Sampradāya ane Siddhānto : Gujarātmāṁ tēno prachār ane Gujarati sāhitya upar asara*, 1932, pp. 108-110.

12 *Matsyapurāṇa*, *op. cit.*, Ch. XIII, v. 46.

13 *Kāḷikāpurāṇa*, *op. cit.* Ch. XVIII, v. 43.

14 Sircar, D. C., *op. cit.*, p. 51.

15 *Ibid*, p. 35.

16 *Ibid*, p. 35.

Journal of the M. S. University of Baroda

The Journal is published every year in three parts. These parts are devoted respectively to topics relating to (1) Humanities, (2) Social Sciences and (3) Science.

Advertisement tariff will be sent on request.

Communications pertaining to the Journal should be addressed to :

The Editor (Humanities/Social Sciences/Science)
Journal of the M. S. University of Baroda
Faculty of Arts Compound
Baroda-390 002 (India)

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF NANA—THE POPULAR KUṢĀṆA MOTHER-GODDESS

By

ARUN CHANDRA DEB MUNSHI*

When NANA is represented in Kuṣāṇa coins by the Kaṇiṣka group of kings extensively in over twenty varieties, spelt variously as NAN[1], NANA, NANO, NANAIA, NANAPAO[2], ANAN[3], it leaves little doubt that she is depicted as their most popular goddess, though the Kadphises group of kings ignored her. However, the earliest reference to NANA can be found in the silver coins of SAPADBIZES as NANAIA[4]. Her anthropomorphic representation bears conspicuously the crescent and a tridant-like weapon, besides others.

Some scholars following Dr. Martin Haug[5] traced NANA's origin in Iranian goddess Anahit or Ardvisura of Avesta[6] (Anaitis in Urgarian myth[7]). Madrios H. Ananikian dealt with Anahit extensively and connected her with ' Isthar ' or ' Nahunta ' of Elamites, who in Armenian myth, is the daughter of Aramazd and a sister of Persian Mihr and of the cosmopolitan NANE[8]. Since

---

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. No. 35, Nos. 3-4, Sept.-Dec. '85 issue, pp. 249-256

* 97/E/3 Becharam Chatterji Road, P. O. Behala, Calcutta-700 034.

[1] Rosenfield J., *The Dynastic Art of the Kuṣāṇa* (*DAK*), University of California Press, Barkley, 1967, pp. 83 ff, p. 94, and coin No. 165.

[2] Gardner P., *The coins of the Greek and skythic kings in Bactria and India in British Museum*, (BMCGS) Argonant, Inc., publishers, Chicago, 1966, pp. 144 ff, p. 129 ; etc.

[3] Whitehead R. B., *Catalogue of Coins in Punjab Museum, Lahore* (PMC), Clarendon press Oxford, 1914, vol. I, coin No. 105 p. 192.

[4] BMCGS p. 119.

[5] Haug M , *Esseys on Sacred Language, Writings and Religion of the Parsis* ed. enlarged by West, E.W., Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co. LTD, London, 1878, pp. 197ff.

[6] Chattopadhyaya B., *The Age of the Kuṣāṇas—A numismatic study*, (AK), Puthi Pustak, Calcutta, 1967, p. 165 f.

[7] Sykes E., *Everyman's Dictionary of non-classical Mythology* (EDCM), J. M. Dent and Sons LTD., London, 1952, p. 10.

[8] Ananikian, N. H., *The Mythology of all Races* (MAR) (ed. Maccullock, D. D. in 13 vols.), Archaeological Institute of America, Marshall Jones Co., Boston, 1925, VII, p. 26.

NANE (perhaps a variation of NANA), is shown here as the sister of Mihr, as well as of Anahit, we cannot equate both. However, Iranian mythology does not mention NANA as such, as a separate goddess of their own. As Iranian mythology is of later origin than Armenian, we observe that while Dr. Haugs out-look may be accommodated in broad sense since all mother-goddesses are connected with each other irrespective of time and place, a critical judgement would render it insufficient for our purpose.

Prof. B. N. Mukherji mentioned the Babylonian (Sumerian) origin of NANA[9] following Hastings[10] and G. Hoffmann[11]; but he did not elaborate the fact since Hastings himself could not proceed further than conveniently equating NANA with Isther and dealing with the latter only, ignoring the former. Thus taking her origin to Sumer and Assyro-Akkadian period, while Rosenfield[12] has equated Nana's origin to Innana-Ishtar.

In this paper our special endeavour will be directed to trace out the origin and development of NANA, the most popular Kuṣāṇa mother-goddess by her very name, rather than by any other appellation or imposition.

Several classical sources mention of a temple of Artemis-NANAIA in Elymais which was attacked by selucid king Antiochus (IV).[13]

However, in Greek and Roman mythology we do not find NANA, the Kuṣāṇa mother-goddess with crescent. But NANNO as a flute-player, beloved by Mimnurmus and repeatedly celebrated by him, can be found in the latter.[14]

Romans adopted the worship of mother-goddess of Phrygia—Cybele, in 204 B.C. towards the close of their struggle with Hanibal.[15] Origin of Cybele has different version in context to Attis,—and the mother of Attis was NANA, the vergin daughter of river-god Sangarius in Phrygian mythology. She became pregnant by the almond that grew up from the blood of Agdistis and was imprisoned by her father to die out of hunger, but survived due to her mother's care and bore Attis.[16] Evidently kuṣāṇa NANA does not represent Phrygian NANA.

---

[9] Mukherjee B. N., *Nanā on Lion* (NL), Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1969, p. 11.

[10] Hastings J., *Encyclopediae of Religion and Ethics* (ERE), T. and T. Clark, Edinburgh, 4th Impression, Jan. 1958, ii, p. 311; vii, 4th Imp. 1959, pp. 428 ff.

[11] Hoffmann G., "Aüszüge aus Syrischen Akten persischar Marlyrer," in *Abhandlungen fur die kunde des Morgenländes*, F. A. Brockhans, Leipzig, 1880, vii, No. 3, pp. 151ff.

[12] DAK pp. 83ff.

[13] NL, p. 3 and f.n.

[14] Smith W., *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Bibliography and Mythology* (DGRBM), (in 3 vol), John Murray, London, 1880, ii, p. 1138.

[15] Frazer J. G., *The Golden Bough* (G B), Macmillan, St. Martin Press, Inc., New York, 1966, (Reprint of 3rd Ed. Mar. 1911), v. p. 265.

In Nordic myth NANA is referred to as the daughter of Nef and wife of Balder who died of anguish at her husband's death and was burnt at the same pire of her dead husband.[17] She also cannot be related to Kuṣāṇa NANA.

In semitic mythology "the mother-goddess of Doura' bears the Babylonian name NANĀ..type of Isther"[18] (Sister of Tammuz); but the latter is particularly associated with river and flock. She appears as wife of Nebo. It may be noted that Isther's identification with NANĀ may be a late development as she appears to be the consort of MARDUK, ASSUR, TAMMUZ, and even of ENLIL as Ninlil. She is also identified with Domnika, wife of Ea, in which capacity she is the mother of Tammuz. She is also sometimes considered as the daughter of sin or Anu. Frazer has equated her with Esther of old Testament.[19] All these above statements clearly point out that NANA's origin surpasses the Scope of Semitic mythology.

The 'text which first contained the fully developed early pantheon, comes from suruppak in South Sumer and from a period more than 500 years later than the pictographic tablets of kish'[20] (i.e. 4th millenium B.C.). This contains the name NANNA as Moon-god meaning 'Lord of Heaven'; thus disappears the female aspect of crescent-bearing Moon deity at remote period of Sumerian mythology. Here the Moon-god also appears under the name EN-ZU i.e. ZU-EN (knowing Lord) and thereafter by SIN.[21] Yet his principal title was NANNA in original and oldest form. The names NINANNA and INNINI also appear and the scribes of this period place AN (the god of Heaven), ENLIL (of Earth), INNINI (Earthgoddess as female principal of Heaven), ENKI (water-god), NANNA (Moon-god) UTU (Sun-god) in this order.[22] Significantly NANNA and INNINI are shown as god and goddess respectively in the same period, hence undoubtedly representing two entities. The name ĪNNANA, meaning Lord of Heaven, written ideographically as SES-KI (brother of Earth)[23] is also appended to NANNA. His children are UTU (Sun-god) and INANNA, —the daughter who was the tutelary deity of Agade during the kingship of SHARRUKIN (SARGON of later tradition C. 2528 B.C.[24] date controversial), whose campaign has been illustrated in a later Babylonian tablet dating between 7th and 5th century B.C.[25]

---

[16] Howe G., and Harrer G.A., *A Handbook of Classical Mythology* (HCM), F. S. crofts and Co., New York, 5th print, 1947 (1st ed. May 1929), p. 249.

[17] EDCM, p. 149.

[18] MAR, V, (Langdon S. H.) p. 20.

[19] EDCM, p. 105.

[20] Deimel A., *Dei Inschriftien von Fara* (DIF), Leipzig, 1922, vol. 11, p. 9f. (No access to this book.)

[21] MAR, v, p. 92.

[22] MAR, v, p. 93.

The city of Ur meaning ' light ' was the centre of Moon-worship among the Sumerians and its shrine was in the centre of the city as excavation testifies. It is therefore possible that the city grew up around the shrine of the Moon-god who was known by the name NANNAR, and frequently referred to as ' the heifer of Anu'. He was also known as ENZU and equated with SIN.[26]

In Akkadian mythology we come across with the word NANNARU meaning ' light ', which was shortened to NANNAR[27] We therefore, can deduce that Akkadian mythology was the direct import of Moonworship at UR, the principal Moon-worship centre of Sumer, and was heavily influenced by Sumerian mythology[28]. That the Semitic founder King SHARRUKIN or SARGON having been founded at Agade the Shrine of Sumerian goddess INANNA as its tutelary deity, serves as a proof of our above observation.

About the birth of the Moon in Sumerian mythology, the inscription on a four-column tablet excavated in 1890 from Sumer now in Pennsylvania University Museum, copied by George Burton and published in his book[29], throws important light.

---

[23] MAR, v p. 152.

[24] Hutchingson W., ed. *Story of Nations* (SN) (in 3 vols.), Hutchingson and Co. London, year not furnished, by Winckworth, C.P.T., The Babylonian Nations, I. p. 228.

[25] Smith S., *Early History of Assyria*, (EHA), chatts of Windus, London, 1928, p. 86, fig. 8. This shows the map of the known world illustrating Sargon of Agade's campaign. British Museum No. 92687 (after Campbell Thompson, *Cuniform Text*, pt. xxii, PL. 48. We have no access to this book. Ref. taken from EHA). Some scholars think its reliability is not free from doubt.

[26] EDCM, p. 149.

[27] MAR, v, p. 152.

[28] Akkad, according to our view was a Sumerian city before invasion of Sargon of Agade. Its mythology thereafter mingled with semitics and developed as its own.

[29] Burton G., *Miscellaneous Babylonian Inscriptions*, Ins. No. 4 (No access to this book, reference taken from other book).

One inscription of Prof. Hilprecht Sammlung's collection[30] mentions that Sargon, the king of Agade was given by Enlil the lordship and kingship of the lands above and below, and the city became prosperous and powerful under the patronage of its tutelary goddess INANNA ... NARAM-SIN (4th king of this dynasty glorified it more and raised its walls mountain high....but NARAM-SIN had attacked and ravaged EKUR and NIPPUR whose patron deity was ENLIL ... therefore ENLIL avanged on Agade and to soothe his anger other eight principal deities of Sumer viz, SIN, ENKI, INANNA, NINURTA, ISHKUR UTU, NUSKU and NIDABA turned their face to the city of Agade and pronounced its destruction curse.....

This is the specific evidence of the transitional phase of Sumerian mythology into semitic mythology when the Scribes were Sumerian and not Semitic. Hence we consider, the political implication of the first dynasty of Agade with their patron deity INANNA, the daughter of Sumerian Moon-god NANNA, is of great significance. INANNA here established herself luminously among Sumerian pantheon and as the most dreadful as well as tendering mother-goddess of the Semitic people, at least to a part of it under SHARRLIKIN or SARGON.

With the destruction and desolation of Agade by the Guitan soon after NARAM SIN, we do not get any further reference to INANNA. But when UTU-HEGAL overthrew the foreigner Guitans and liberated Babylonia establishing the 5th Dynasty at Erech ; NANĀ is referred to as the city's patron deity and was removed in C.2220 B.C. and recaptured and restored by the Assyrian King Asshurbanipal (C. 668 B.C.)[31]. This is the earliest reference to NANĀ as the prevailing Mother-goddess rather than the crescent bearing deity of the Moon-god house of Sumer. NANA's restoration testifies that the Assyrians dearly cherished her as their patron deity during all these years while her tradition was predominant in whole of Western Asia.

From the above discussion it can be clearly perceived that NANA is the direct representation by her very name from Erech, who is again the direct representation of INANNA, the daughter of Sumerian Moon-god since there is no reference to the origin of NANA or NAṆĀ as a separate entity, independent of Moon-god of Sumer-NANNA. Therefore we will not be far from truth to suggest that tradition of NANA originated from Sumerian Moon-god NANNA or INNANA's daughter INANNA, who is also the sister of Sun-god UTU. Thus NANA had a Sumerian Origin and not a Babylonian Origin since the land was not then called Babylon. The first dynasty at Babylon city starts with SUMMU or SUMU-ABU around C. 2040 B.C. (data controversial) who was followed by HAMURABI, the Assyrian King of Semitic origin[32]. In any case the name Babylon occurs much later than the civilization or political supremacy of the Sumerians.

---

[30] Prof. Hilprecht Sammlung had painstakingly collected about 2500 tablets and fragments in this region mainly. This collection was bequethed to Jena University (now officially known as Friedrich Schiller University) after his death in 1925. Out of this collection only 150 are inscribed with Sumerian literary works. Kramer has worked on it.

[31] Utu-Hegal (c. 2282-2275 B.C.) vide SN, i, p. 228. Date controversial Mackenzie D. A., in *Myths of Babylonia and Assyria* (MBA), Gresham Publishing Co. LTD. London, 1925, p. 124, mentions Nanā as daughter of Anu, tutelary deity of the city Erech or Uruk whose patron king was Lugal Zaggisi (2528-2504 B.C.) (vide SN, i, p. 228), Ashur-Bani-Pal (c. 668-626 B.C.) (vide SN, i, p. 278).

It will be worth mentioning here that NANĀ appears in Ṛgveda as "*Bhiṣagupalaprakṣinī*" NAṆĀ[33] which Sāyanācāryya explains as "*Nanā mātā duhitā vā*"/ "*Namanakriyāyogyatvāt*"[34] and Maxmüller followed Sāyana[35]. But a critical scrutiny in the light of our above discussion, leaves no doubt that 'Nanā is referred here as duty-bound cleanser of the dust i.e. of Indra and Indu for purification' as the full hymn indicates.[36] We are now very much allured to invite the attention of esteemed Scholars to the fact that INANNA was the daughter of NANNA or INNANA, the Moon-god of Sumer, and the latter in turn can be equated with the Ṛgvedic Moon-god ĪNDU while INDRA as brother of INDU can be equated with Sumerian ENLIL (god of Earth and storm). Ānd NANĀ is shown here as daughter of INDU. Hence it follows that the composer of this Ṛgvedic hymn Śiśurāṅgirasaḥ was well aware of Sumerian NANNA or INNANA and his daughter INANNA, who is represented through NANĀ. Secondly, it will lead us to the subsequent inevitable conclusion that the later Sumerian Scribes of the period due to Sargon I or Sharrukiro invasion, had to migrate in all directions while a section came eastward and took shelter in the Indian Subcontinent whose lore was widespread in Sumer at least by then. They preferred to dwell amidst the learned Indian society as a migrant rather than accept the subjugation by the less civilised Semitic people and the Indian society of learned people and sages accommodated them wholeheartedly with due respect around the middle of 3rd millenniam B.C. Thirdly, if our second observation is aceepted, we will then be able to solve conclusively the Indo European philological hypothesis that it was a part of the sumerians who migrated eastward as well as west or northwards in small social groups rather than as political force and retained the purity of their highly advanced culture, thus, imposing upon the local culture wherever they went either in European or Asian lands. Perhaps this accounts for the striking similarities of many words in different languages of modern times. In the light of our above findings, it becomes now necessary to pay due attention to this aspect and review Indo-European Race hypothesis who are according to us, the Sumerians only.

---

[32] SN, i. p. 228.

[33] *Ṛgveda*, 9. 112. 3.

[34] Vaidik Samsodhan Maṇḍal, Poona, *Ṛgveda*, IV, p. 265.

[35] *Ṛgveda Saṃhitā* by Maxmüller, Oxford, ed. 1849, vol. IV, p. 377.

[36] *Kārūrahaṁ tato bhiṣagupalaprakṣiṇī Nanā Nanādhiyo Vasuyavoanu gāiva tasthimendrāyendo pari srava* (9.112.3. Ṛg.)

From chinese sources[37] we find the Yüch-chih i.e. the 'Lunar Race', originally lived in the area between the ch'i lien or Heavenly Mountains and Tun huang[38] (40° 05 N 94° 46′ E) ; and they are a nation of nomads moving from place to place with their herds and their customs are like those of Hsiung-nu.'[39] Again, the 'K'ang Chü are likewise nomads and resemble the Yüch-chih in their customs'[40] Though scholars have not yet settled coclusively the question of ethnological origin of the Yüch-chih and the K'ang-chü, most of them took the race/s as Caucasoid from the Chinese fragmental information,[41] as well as iconographic representation on coins, stones or fresco paintings.

But even then, the Chinese sources fail to throw any illuminating light as to how the Moon-affiliation of the Yüch-chih be accounted for in Chinese Western borderlands while we find that the same race after having settled in Bactrian region, no longer retained their racial distinction of Moon-affiliation. However, chang Ch'ien has provided us the most significant information on tracing development of Nanā in his 'Report', being reproduced in Shih Chi : 123 and translated by Burton Watson[42] as 'the old men of An-hsi say they have heard that in T'iao-chih are to be found the River of Weak water and the Queen Mother of the West, though they admit that they have never seen either of them', adding in foot note, 'the Queen Mother of the west was an immortal spirit who was said to live in some fabulous region of the West. According to later writers, the River of the Weak water was so called because it would not float even a goose feather.[43] We state that this reference of 'Queen Mother of the West' can be equated with the development of Nanā-cult while the reference of the 'River of Weak water' memorises the Sumerian tradition of the Celestial River.

---

[37] Ssu-ma Ch'ien in Shih Chi : 123 reproduced 'The Report of Chang Ch'ien, translated by Burton Watson *Records of the Grand Historian of China* (RGHC), Columbia University Press, New York, 1961, vol. ii, pp. 266-269.

[38] RGHC, ii, p. 268. [39] RGHC, ii, p. 267. [40] RGHC, ii, p. 267.

[41] McGovern, W. M., *Early Empires of Central Asia* (EECA), University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1939, p. 111 f., pp. 472 ff. — has dealt this question extensively but unconclusively. Joyer, T. A., 'Notes on Physical Anthropology of Chinese Turkestan and the Pamirs in *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, London, 1912, xlii, 450 ff. advocates cancasoid theory.

[42] ibid. 1 above.

[43] RGHC, ii, p. 268 and foot note.

Memorising such myth by the old men of An-hsi at the time of Chang ch'ien definitely points out to the continuance of the old Sumerian tradition by the subsequent period and people even in the distant land of An-hsi. But what is more important to us in this information is that Chang Ch'ien never visited An-hsi and travelled upto Ta-hsia[44], from where he returned to China 'along the Nan-Shan or Southern Mountains intending to re-enter China through the territory of the Ch'iang barbarians.[45] Yet when he writes about the 'Queen Mother of the West' and the 'River of the Weak Water', it must then be deduced that Chang Ch'ien heard about them anywhere between Ta-yüan and Ta-hsia which further establishes that at least this Sumerian Tradition was known to any or more parts of this region during the period of our 'Reporter'.[46]

However our prime question as to 'how the Moon-affiliation of the yüch chih be accounted for in Chinese Western borderlands', remains still unanswered.

While inviting illuminating information on this, we provisionally suggest to the esteemed scholars to consider the possibility of a group of Sumerians, specially from the city Ur — the centre of Moon-worship at Sumer, having been driven out by the Semitic Assyrian, perhaps migrated eastward and settled among the different tribes in Central Asia and subsequently taking intellectual domination, taught the host tribe Moon-worship, thus ensuring the survival of the memory of their most devoted cult of Moon-god NANNA or INNANA, His son UTU—the Sun-god add His daughter INANNA (Nanā of Semitic mythology)— the crescent bearing vergin deity.

In the present state of our knowledge it must be admitted that Nanā's connection with the Kuṣāṇa cannot be satisfactorily answered, specially in the light when the earlier Kadphises group of kings ignored her. We therefore propose that a full fledged research on Nanā, exploring such vast area of archaic world as outlined above, may be undertaken. Symptoms of our initial research findings suggest, more startling, illuminating and symphoricarpous* revelations may come to light therefrom.

---

[44] RGHC, ii, p. 293 f. ; also p. 265.

[45] RGHC, ii, p. 265.

[46] RGHC, ii, p. 293—Burton Watson states the period as 122 B.C. Cf. crosschecking (i) ibid p. 262—"served as palace attendant during Chien yüan era [140-135 B.C.]". (ii) ibid. p. 266— "but after thirteen years abroad, only he and Kan-fu managed to make their way back to China". Other views are 125 (AK p. 1) 126 (EK p. 17) + B.C. etc. We are following Burton Watson's translation as it is more reliable.

* Fruit-bearing. + Baldev Kumar *The Early Kuṣāṇas* (EK), Sterling Publishers, New Delhi, 1973.

EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM AS WE KNOW FROM THE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE IMPERIAL GUPTAS.*

By

MANABENDU BANERJEE,**

Inscriptions are, by far, the best source of knowledge in respect of the social, political and religious history of ancient India. The age of the Imperial Guptas (319 A.D. — 500 A.D.) had produced excellent and interesting inscriptions which concern mainly with the chronicles of political events, records of religious endowments or secular donations. Authors of the inscriptions of this period were never conscious about recording the educational system current at their time. But in these inscriptions, we spasmodically come across some valuable information regarding the status of teachers, nature of students, curricula of studies, etc. on the basis of which a picture of the general standard of education can be framed to some extent.

From the inscriptions of the Gupta age, we come to learn a sound system of education and adequate progress of learning. Teachers are mentioned in the inscriptions as *Ācārya*s and also *Upādhyāya*s and the pupils were generally called *Śiṣya*s. *Ācārya*s in the Gupta records generally indicated all those who taught in the Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jaina societies. The title *Brahmacārin* (lit. a young, unmarried Brāhmaṇa who practices chastity), also indicated a student ; thus Vājasaneya Brahmacārin[1] signifies a student belonging to the *Vājasaneya Śākhā* of *Śukla Yajurveda.* It appears that disciples who were called *Brahmacārin*s were mainly students devoted to religious studies and engaged in religious practices.

Villages, gifted to the religious students as well as to the Brāhmaṇas, were called *agrahāras,* as is evident from the grant of a village, named Revatikā of Gaya District, made by Samudragupta as an *agrahāra* to one Gopadevasvāmī,[2] who was a *Brahmacārī.* Brāhmaṇas, versed in all the four Vedas, usually formed a community of *caturvedins* (*cāturvidya-sāmānya-brāhmaṇa*).[3] Villages were consecrated to this community also and these were also called *agrahāras*, as is known from the expression *cāturvidyāgrahāra*,[4] and *cāturvedyagrāmamaryādā*.[5] Students of the Vedic schools followed respective recensions of the Vedas. Some

---

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 35, Nos. 1-2, Sept.-Dec. '85 issue, pp. 257-264.

* This paper was presented at the *Social Science Section of the Vth World Sanskrit Conference*, held at Varanasi, from 21st to 26th October, 1981.

** Department of Sanskrit, Jadavpur University, Calcutta — 700 032.

of the recensions mentioned in the Gupta inscriptions are *Kāṇva-vājasaneya*[6] of the *Śukla-Yajurveda*, *Vājasaneyaṣaḍaṅgādhyāyī*[7] of the *Śukla-Yajurveda*, *Chāndoga-rāṇāyanīya*[8] of the *Sāmaveda*, *Maitrāyaṇīya*[9] of the *Kṛṣṇayajurveda*, *Bāhvṛca*[10] of the *Ṛgveda*, *Ātharvaṇikacaraṇa*[11] and *Chāndogakauthuma*[12] of the *Sāmaveda*. In a later Gupta inscription, one Ṣaṣṭidatta is said to have originated a race of Naigamas (*yata uditagarimnas tāvate naigamānām*),[13] who were probably the interpretators of the Vedic words. Versatile Brāhmaṇa teachers were sometimes honoured by the title of *Bhaṭṭa*s, as for examples, Bhaṭṭa Guhilasvāmin in Bihar Stone pillar inscription of Skandagupta,[14] and Bhaṭṭa Bhavadatta and Bhaṭṭa Haridatta—sons of Bhaṭṭa Gaurīdatta in Rajim Copper plate inscription.[15]

Regarding the subjects of study, we have reference to the four Vedas, as the term *cāturvidyā* or *cāturvedya*, already mentioned, indicates. *Svādhyāya* suggests the study of a particular recension of the Veda.[16] Indraviṣṇu of the Eran Stone Pillar inscription of Budhagupta, dated 484 A.D., is described as a *viprarṣi* who had read fully the recension of the Veda (*adhītasvādhyāyasya*) to which he belonged.[17] A Vedic scholar was generally used to be versed (*pāraga*) in the interpretations and significance of the Vedic *svādhyāya*, *mantra*, *sūkta*, *bhāṣya* and *pravacana* and this is corroborated by the Karamdāṇḍā (Faizabad District, U.P.) Stone *liṅga* inscription of the time of Kumāragupta I, dated 436 A.D.[18] The term *pravacana* probably means the sacred writings, *esp.*, the Brāhmaṇas and Vedāṅgas.[19] The study of the *Ṛgveda* hymns has been given special emphasis, as we see in the Allahabad pillar inscription that Samudragupta was frequently advised to follow the path of the sacred hymns (*adhyeyaḥ sūkta-mārgaḥ*).[20] Reference is made to the fourteen sections of sciences (*caturdaśa-vidyāsthāna*)[21] comprising the four Vedas, six Vedāṅgas, the Purāṇas, the *Mīmāṁsā* system of philosophy, the *Nyāya* system and *Dharma* or Law. *Nyāya-śāstra*, i.e. the Science of Logic was also prescribed for a special branch of study; in the Junagarh inscription of Skandogupta, one Cakrapālita is mentioned as well-versed in this science (*nayāśāstra-vettā*)[22]. *Ṣaḍaṅga*, i.e. six Vedāṅgas and *Dharmaśāstra* are also separately mentioned.[23] *Śruti*, *Smṛti* and *Itihāsa* are referred to in the Gunaigarh inscription of Vainyagupta (507 A.D.).[24] Due respect was shown to the religious act of granting land (*puṇyabhūmidāna*) mainly for the reason that the gift of land is recommended as a sacred act in the *Śrutis*, *Smṛtis* and *Itihāsa*. It may be assumed that these texts were as are even today, very much regarded as holy and taken as authorities. *Itihāsa* appears to include the two great epics, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, and probably also the Purāṇas.

Śāba Vīrasena, a minister of Candragupta II, was a poet residing in Pāṭalīputra (*kaviḥ pāṭalīputrakaḥ*) ; but he was also proficient, as we come to know from the Udayagiri Cave Inscription of Candragupta II, dated 401 A.D., in the scientific subjects, such as, etymology (*śabdārtaḥ*), logic (*nyāya*) and statecraft (*lokajñaḥ*).[25] So, royal officers sometimes selected these sciences as the special subjects of their study. We have reference, in a later Gupta inscription (Alina copper plate Inscription of Śīlāditya, dated 766 A.D.),[26] to Pāṇini's grammer called *Śālāturīya* (Pāṇini having been born in the town of Śālātura) which contains the topics like *sandhi*, *vigraha*, *samāsa*, *ādeśa*, *guṇa*, *vṛddhi*, etc. Some acquired proficiency in *Jyotiṣa*[27] In another comparatively later inscription (dated 610 A.D.) *Atharvaveda* has been referred to as a subject of specific study for a group of Brāhmaṇas when it used to assemble in an *agrahāra* or a temple (*ātharvaṇa-brāhmaṇa-stoma*).[28]

Acquaintance was sometimes made with the science of archery (*dhanurveda*) and with the wonderful *Kathā* literature (*vicitra-kathā-vidaḥ*).[29] Interested persons practised vocal music and are stated to be absorbed themselves in representing pictures (*gāndharvaśabdamukharāṇi niviṣṭacitrakarmāṇi*).[30] Samudragupta is spoken of, as if, putting shame to Tumburu and Nārada, two gods of Music, by his choral skill and musical accomplishments (*gāndharva-lalitaiḥ*).[31] Instrumental music was one of the fine arts mastered by a person like Samudragupta. The lyrist type of coins of Samudragupta shows, on the obverse, the king playing on lyre or *Vīṇā*, and the image of the goddess on the Reverse may be taken as that of Sarasvatī who, being the goddess of Music, is associated with *Vīṇā*. Skandagupta disciplined himself in the understanding of different tunes (*tāna*) of music, as is evidenced from his Bhitari stone pillar inscription.[32] Inscription-writing was highly aspired after and sometimes inscriptions were purposely shaped in the forms of excellent poems and the authors declared these as *kāvya* so that these should not be valued as mere collections of some documents. Hariṣeṇa declares that the Allahabad pillar inscription, composed by him, is nothing but a *kāvya* in nature (*etacca kāvyam*).[33] The Meharauli Iron pillar inscription of Candra, the Mandasor inscription of Kumāragupta I and Bandhuvarman, composed by the poet Vatsabhaṭṭi, the Junagarh inscription of Skandagupta are some of the fine pieces of poetry. Cultivation of poetic writings was greatly encouraged by the kings. According to the Allahabad pillar inscription, Samudragupta was himself a poet and composed a large volume of poetry having clear meaning (*sphuṭabahukavitākīrtirājyaṁ bhunaktī* — 1.16) ; he established his title of 'King of poets' by executing various poetical compositions and these are said to have been the means of subsistence of learned people (*vidvajjanopajīvyānekakāvyakriyābhiḥ pratiṣṭhitakavirāja-śabdasya* — 1.27) ; poetry was considered as giving free vent to the power of the minds of poets (*kavimativibhavotsāraṇaṁ cāpi kāvyam* — 1.16). Though Sanskrit was the medium of higher instruction and the language of cultural class, as is evidenced from the great number of inscriptions composed in Sanskrit, replacing Prākrit of earlier inscriptions, we have reference to the arrangement of sentences, i.e. composition of poems both in Sanskrit and Prākṛit—

vacanaracanabandhe saṁskṛtaprākṛte yaḥ |
kavibhir uditarāgaṁ gīyate gīrabhijñaḥ ||[34]

Education as well as the educated were highly counted for. Brāhmaṇas of the city of Daśapura are depicted as endowed with good conduct (*vṛtta*), refinement (*vinaya*), steadfastness (*sthiti*), and intelligence (*buddhi*). These are certainly the elements required for character-building. Moreover, they were " abounding in learning and penances and free from the excitement of surprise " (*vidyātaponidhibhir asmayitaiśca vipraiḥ*).[35] A widely learned person or a man of intelligence was shown great honour, and he has been compared to the gods like Śukra and Bṛhaspati, as is evidenced by the expressions, *samānadhīḥ śukrabṛhaspatibhyām*[36] and *buddhyā bṛhaspatisamaḥ*.[37] Samudragupta's scholarship was so extensive (*niśitavidagdhamatiḥ*) that he is depicted as putting Bṛhaspati to shame by his sharp and polished intellect (*vriḍitatridaśapatiguruḥ*);[38] he was accustomed to associate himself regularly with learned assemblies (*prajñānuṣaṅgocita*); he was the supporter of the real truth of the scriptures (*śāstratattvārthabharttā*); he used to convene conferences of men of learning so that he could judge excellent poetry and " weed out that which would violate its dignity " (*satkāvyaśrīvirodhān budhaguṇitaguṇājñāhatān eva kṛtvā*).[39] Viśvavarman, a contemporary of Kumāragupta I, is said to have nourished his pure intellect by following the sayings of the *Śāstra*s (*śāstrānusāraparivardhitaśuddhabuddhiḥ*).[40]

Of the two epics, the *Mahābhārata* was very much popular and received high esteem from the authors of the inscriptions not only of this age, but of later period also. Several landgrants of this period refer to two, three or more imprecatory verses in the conclusion and attribute them to Vyāsa or to the *Mahābhārata*, as for examples, *uktaṁ ca mahābhārate bhagavatā vyāsena*,[41] *uktaṁ ca bhagavatā vedavyāsena*[42] and so on. In an inscription of a later Gupta period, the *Mahābhārata* is described as *Śatasāhaśrīsaṁhitā*.[43]

About the reverence shown to the religious teachers, the Kahaum stone pillar inscription of Skandagupta, dated 460 A.D., refers to one Madra who was full of affection for ' Brāhmaṇas and religious preceptors and ascetics ' (*dvijaguruyatiṣu prāyaśaḥ prītimān yaḥ*).[44] Proper respect was sometimes paid to preceptors and founders of religious sects by installing their statues in shrines. The Mathurā pillar inscription of the time of Candragupta II, dated 380 A.D., states that one Uditācārya, the disciple (*śiṣya*) of Upamita-Vimala, and the grand disciple (*śiṣya-śiṣya*) of Kapila Vimala, to gain religious merit (*svapuṇyāpyāyananimittam*) and make prominent the fame of his teachers (*gurūṇāṁ kīrtyartham*) erected (*pratiṣṭhāpitau*) two images of his teachers, Upamita and Kapila (the names of the images being *Upamiteśvara* and *Kapileśvara*) in perhaps two shrines (*gurvāyatana*) built for that purpose.[45] The Sarnath stone inscription, ascribed to the 5th century A.D., points out the superior position of a teacher even to that of the parents, in the eye of a disciple. It says that when one Buddhist *bhikṣu* Harigupta was going to erect an image of the Buddha (*kāritā pratimā śāstuḥ*), he worships his *guru* first and then his mother and finally his father.[46]

Vihāras, frequently referred to in the Gupta inscriptions, served perhaps the purpose of residential colleges for the distribution of learning. Sāñcī stone inscription of Candragupta II, dated 412 A.D., gives the name of a great *vihāra* of Kākanādaboṭa (ancient name of Sāñcī) (*kākanādaboṭaśrīmahāvihāre*) where lived the members of a Buddhist community (*āryasaṅgha*), whose organs of sense are stated to have been subdued by the virtues of good character, religious meditation and wide wisdom (*śīla-samādhi-prajñā-guṇa-bhāvitendriyāya*).[47] The Paharpur Copper plate inscription, dated 479 A.D., speaks of the *Nirgrantha* Śramaṇācārya Guhanandin residing in a *vihāra* at a place named Vaṭa-Gohālī along with his disciples and grand-disciples (*śiṣyapraśiṣyādhiṣṭhita-vihāre*).[48] The Gunaighar inscription records that one Buddhist *Saṅgha* was housed in a *vihāra* called *Āśrama-vihāra* which was consecrated to Avalokiteśvara.[49]

When the Chinese traveller Fa-hien, who travelled in India during the Gupta period (399-414 A.D.), arrived at. Tāmralipta of Bengal he saw there twenty four monasteries, all with resident priests. Fa-hien stayed there for about two years, copying out *sūtra*s and drawing pictures of Buddhist images.[50] Fa-hien, however, does not touch upon the educational system, generally followed by the people and his record mainly helps the reader in obtaining " a furtive glimpse of the grandeur of the Buddhist religion in the early years of the fifth century A,D. ". *Ghaṭikā*, like *vihāra*, appears to be another establishment for the people devoted to religious and learned discourses. It was something like a College. The Tālguṇḍā (Mysore District) stone pillar inscription of the time of Śāntivarman (455-70 A.D.) states that Mayūraśarman, the best of the Brāhmaṇas (*dvijottama*), who was endowed with learning, good character and purity (*śruta-śīla śaucādyalaṁkṛtaḥ*), went along with his teacher Vīraśarman to the Pallava capital Kāñcī (*yaḥ prayaye pallavendrapurīṁ guruṇā samaṁ vīraśarmaṇā*) and got admitted there to a *ghaṭikā*, as an earnest student, to acquire knowledge in all the religious scriptures (*adhijigāṁsuḥ pravacanaṁ nikhilaṁ gkaṭikāṁ viveśāśu tarkkukaḥ*) It further states that in a *gurukula*, a preceptor's family was to be duly served and there a Vedic recension was earnestly studied ; these could lead one to attain *Brahmasiddhi*, i.e. perfection in holiness (*gurukulāni samyag ārādhya śākhām adhītyāpi yatnataḥ brahmasiddhiḥ*).[51] Thus, the *gurukula*-system of learning was evidently current during this period. It is most likely that the *vihāras*, *ghaṭikās*, or *gurukulas* were patronised by the kings.

The Gupta inscriptions record numerous instances of building and temple constructions as well as erections and installations of images. Some of these records are valuable in view of the practice of the Gupta art. Of these instances, a few may be cited. The Lāṭa district (*lāṭaviṣaya*) was made beautiful with temples, assembly halls and *vihāras* (*devakulasabhāvihāraramaṇīya*) the houses of the city of Daśpura were of bright whiteness and of high altitude (*atyartha-śuklānyadhikonnatāni*) the rows of storeyed mansions were, as if, rows of aerial chariots (*vimānamālāsadṛśāṇi*).[52] A temple of Kārtikeya was furnished with (a) a gateway having flight of steps (*pratolī*), (b) a charitable alms-house (*dharmasattra*), and (c) a firm and excellent lofty pillar (*sthiravarasthambh-occhraya*).[53] Skandagupta caused to construct a group of temples (*devaniketa-maṇḍalam*) dedicated to the divine Mother.[54] From the Junagarh inscription of Skandagupta (457 A.D.)[55] we know that a reservoir, named Sudarśana, was originally constructed during the Maurya period ; in the time of Skandagupta its embankment burst as a result of continuous rain, creating a breach in it. The engineers, however, repaired the breach within two months and implementing proper masonry (*samyakghaṭitopalena*) reconstructed the embankment, with a length of 100 cubits (*āyāmato hasta-śatam*), breadth of 68 cubits (*vistarataḥ ṣaṣṭir athāpi cāṣṭau*) and seven man's height (i.e. about 40 feet). A sun temple (*bhānumato gṛham*), parts of which were dilapidated in course of time, had been repaired again (*saṁskāritam idaṁ bhūyaḥ*) by skilled artisans. These references definitely indicate the existence of centres for technical education in those days, which produced efficient engineers. Various images, such as, those of Buddha,[56] Varāha,[57] Śiva, Jaina *tīrthaṅkaras*, Mother goddess, etc. show that like the science of architecture, that of sculpture also was mastered by a class of inquisitive people. So, scientific studies in some form or other were prevalent in the period under consideration.

So far as the above records are concerned, it is most interesting to note that there is no reference in these inscriptions to the education of the female folk. It is certain that the system of education prevalent in this period included many more rules, regulations and subjects of study which the inscriptions have not mentioned and it cannot also be expected from inscriptional records. However, it appears that, the educational system introduced in the pre-Gupta age was carried out in this period also and it is certain that the elevated state of education, current in the Gupta age, ploughed uninterruptedly in the later period also. Hiuen-tsang and I-tsing, the Chinese travellers of the 7th century A.D. made visit to the widely known University of Nālandā and gave some accounts about the current education system, such as, the teacher student relation, the subjects of study, etc.[58] which partly reflect those of the Gupta period.

References

1 " Khoh (Baghelkhand, Central India) Inscription of Mahārāja Hastin, dated 482 A.D.) ", *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, J. F.

Fleet, Varanasi, 1970, No. 22, p. 103, l. 9; cf. *Kauthuma-sabrahmacāribhyaḥ* in Majhgawan Copper Plate Inscription of Hastin dated 510 A.D.—*C.I I.*, III No. 23, p. 108, l. 9; *bahvṛcāya sabrahmacāriṇe*, —in "Spurious Gaya Copper-plate inscription of Samudragupta",—*C.I.I.*, III, No. 60, p. 256, l. 9.

2 *C.I.I.*, III, No. 60, p. 256, l. 10.

3 "Indor Copper plate Inscription of Skandagupta"—*C.I.I.*, III, No. 16, p. 70, l. 5.

4 "Poona Inscription of Prabhāvatīguptā", *Select Inscriptions, bearing on Indian History and Civilisation*, Vol. I, ed. by Dr. D. C. Sircar, Calcutta, 1965, p. 437, l. 16.

5 "Rithpur Inscription of Prabhāvatīguptā", *Sel. Ins*, p. 441, 1.17; "Chammak Inscription of Pravarasena II"—*C.I.I.*, III, No. 55, p. 238, 1.25.

6 "Faridpur Copper plate Inscription of Dharmāditya and Gopachandra",—*Sel. Ins.*, p. 368, 1.10; p. 371 1.13.

7 *Sel. Ins.*, p. 366, 1.19.

8 "Indor Copper-plate Inscription of Skandagupta"—*C.I.I.*, III, No. 16, p. 70, 1.6.

9 "Eran stone pillar inscription of Budhagupta, dated 484 A.D."—*C I.I.*, No. 19, p. 39, 1 5

10 "Mallasarul Copper-plate Inscription of the time of Gopacandra"—*Sel. Ins.*, p. 374, 1.10.

11 "Basim Copper-plate Inscription of Vindhyaśakti II"—*Sel. Ins.*, p. 434, 1.5.

12 "Majhgawan Copper-plate Inscription of Mahārāja Hastin."—*C.I.I.*, III, No. 23, p. 108, 1.80.

13 "Mandasor Stone Inscription of Yaśodharman and Viṣṇuvardhan, dated 510 A.D."—*C.I.I.*, No. 35, p. 153, 1.11.

14 *C.I.I.*, III, No. 12, p. 52, 1.31.

15 *C.I.I.*, III, No. 81, p. 295, 1.23.

16 "Mandasor Inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarman",—*C.I.I.*, III, 18, p. 82, 1.8.

17 *C.I.I.*, III, No. 19, p. 89, 1.5.

18 *Sel. Ins.*, p. 290.

19 M. William's *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Oriental Publishers, Delhi (not dated), p. 690.

20 *C.I.I.*, III, No. 1, p. 6, 1.16.

21 "Khoh Copper-plate inscription of Mahārāja Saṁkṣobha—*C.I.I.*, III, 25, p. 114, 1.3.

22 *Sel. Ins.*, p. 313, 1.19.

23 " Faridpur Inscription of Dharmāditya and Gopacandra ", *Sel. Ins.*, p. 369, lines 19-24.
24 *Sel. Ins.*, p. 342, l.8.
25 *Sel. Ins* , p. 280, l.4.
26 *C.I.I.*, III, 39, p. 175, lls. 25-26.
27 " Mandasor Inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarman "—*C I.I.*, III, 18, p. 82, l.10.
28 *C.I.I* , III, 80, p. 289, l.8.
29 *Ibid.*, p. 82, l.9.
30 *Ibid.*, p. 81, l. 7.
31 *Ibid.*, p. 8, l. 27.
32 *Sel. Ins.*, p. 322, l. 9.
33 *C.I I.*, p. 9, l. 31.
34 *Ibid.*, p. 153, l. 14.
35 *Ibid.*, p. 82, l. 8.
36 *Ibid.*, p. 82, l. 13.
37 " Gangdhar stone Inscription of Viśvavarman, dated 423 A.D. "—' *.I.I.*, III, p. 74, l. 6.
38 *C.I.I.*, III, p. 8, l. 27.
39 *Ibid* , p. 6, l. 6.
40 *Ibid.*, p. 75, l. 17.
41 *Ibid.*, p. 119, l. 13.
42 *Ibid.*, p. 122, l. 15.
43 *Ibid.*, p. 137, l. 19.
44 *Sel. Ins.*, p. 317, l. 8.
45 *Ibid.*, p. 278, lls. 9-11.
46 *C.I.I.*, III, p. 281, lls. 1-2.
47 *Ibid.*, p. 31, l. 1.
48 *Sel. Ins.*, p. 360, l. 6.
49 *Ibid.*, p. 341, l. 4.
50 *Travels of Fa-hsien*, retranslated by H.A. Giles, London, 1956, p. 66.
51 *Sel. Ins.*, p. 475, lls. 3-4.
52 *C.I.I.*, III, pp. 81f.
53 *Ibid.*, p. 43.
54 *Ibid.*, p. 49.
55 *Ibid.*, pp. 58f.
56 *Ibid.*, p. 46.
57 *Ibid.*, p. 159.
58 *The Glories of Magadha*, by J. N. Samaddar, Patna, 1922, pp. 113-114.

MIGRATIONS AND PAN-INDIC CULTURAL FORCES IN INDIAN HISTORY

By

BHAGWANSINGH SURYAVANSHI*

Migration of the people from one region to another has been a phenomenon of Indian history which has presented a colourful pattern to the regional cultures. Such migrations were trans-continental, inter-continental or inter-regional. Colonel Sir, Holditch rightly remarked that, 'India had been from time immemorial peopled by immigrants'[1]. 'A careful analysis of the artefacts, traditional lores interwoven in the literary treasures, and the folklores may present some interesting cases of blending pattern of various cultures in various regions and may add new pages in the cultural history of India.

Such migrations may be traced from the Prehistoric times to modern period, wherein people in groups moved out of their original homes and got settled in different regions. In course of time these immigrants adjusted to new physical conditions and slowly changed not only their way of life and speech but their physiognomical forms also. Today, these people have lost their originality only a faint memory reminds them about their original homes.

I

While studying the problem of migrations, we are first confronted with the question of the routes followed by the migratory tribes to enter in India or moving from one region to another within the country. It is known to history that Himalaya mountain has served as an iron curtain for a very long time. They are very high and impregnable except for a few ravines formed by the intersection of the passes like Khyber and Bolan etc. through which the Prehistoric, Protohistoric People, Greeks, Scythians, Parthians, Hunas and Turks entered in India and settled down in the Indo-Gangetic plains. Mostly they live on the banks of the rivers as evident from the existence of the numerous habitation sites. Ancient man realized the importance of rivers as recorded in the literature. The *Atharvaveda* refers to the frequency of routes open to all without any exception.[2]

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 35, Nos. 3-4. March-June '86 issue, pp. 265-280

* A/2 Vikrambaug, Pratapganj, Baroda 2.

[1] Holditch Colonel Sir, T. H., *India*, 1924, p. 1.

[2] ये ते पन्थानो बह्वो जनायना रथस्य वर्त्मानसश्च यातवे यैः मंचरन्त्यु भये भद्रपापास्तं
पंथानं जयेमानमित्रमतस्तर

Atharvaveda, 12, 1, 47.

The *Mahābhārata* records that the rivers are mother of mankind and repository of merits.[3] They have been described as property of man and open to all the people i.e, the Arya, Mlechchhas and others.[4] We come across different routes to enter in India which are known to history. One of the well-known routes which has frequently been used was through Pamir, Vankshu river and Mujavant mountain. From Southern Afghanistan there was a highway which after connected Baluchistan and Sindh. The people who saught their entry in India through Khyber pass crossed five rivers of Punjab and from there they reached the furtile plains of river Gaṅgā and Yamunā. There was a direct route which used to connect Mathura, Saketa, Sravasti Kausambi Varanasi, Champa, Pataliputra and Pundravardhan. For South-India there was a direct route which used to bifurcate from Mathura passing through Avanti Bhrigukachha to Pratishthanapura. In this way it used to reach upto Kanyakumari via Suraparaka and Gokarna From Pratishthanapura the merchants used to go towards Kaveripattan, Musalipattam and Visakhapattam. By the time of the compilation of *Chāndogyopaniṣad* there opened a regular route from Gandhara to Panchala.

It is possible to suggest that the Prehistoric people entered in India through the above routes. These migrations evidently brought fusion of different cultures from India to west and vice-versa from time to time.[5] The progress of these communities used to depend upon their inherent vitality as well as upon the natural and man-made forces. A study in the tool-type of the Prehistoric communities may bring forward the area of expansion of cultures and may indicate the process of the development of technique in terms of time and space.

Examples of the expansion of Prehistoric culture may be suggested from the tools of Soan valley which are discovered in Punjab, Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat, and Tamilnadu. These tool-types indicate the expansion of Soan Valley culture and the migration of the people in Prehistoric times.

Similarly, another example of Prehistoric migrations may be suggested from Nevasa Ahmednagar, district Maharashtra. The tools of these people are found in Maharashtra, Konkan, North Mysore, Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Bundelkhand, some portions of Uttar Pradesh, Orissa, Western Rajasthan and

---

[3] विश्वस्य मातरः सर्वा सर्वाश्चैव महाफलाः
इत्येताः सरिता राजन्समाख्याता यथास्मृति
Mbh. Bhiṣmaparva, 9, 37, 38. Gita Press, Gorakhpur; 10, 35 B. O. R. I. Poona.

[4] आर्याम्लेच्छाश्च कौरव्य तैर्मिश्राः पुरुषाविभो ॥
नदीः पिबन्ति बहुला गगां सिन्धुं सरस्वतीम ॥
Ibid., 10, 12; 13 B.O.R I. Poona

[5] Cf. Sankalia H.D., *Prehistory and Protohistory in India and Pakistan*, Bombay, 1962, p. 1.

Saurashtra. These tools include blades with straight blunted back, fully retouched blades on both sides, straight blunted saws, scrapers and blades with two sides. These antiquities enable us to determine cultural expansion in terms of time and space.

D. H. Gordon, Stuart Piggiot and Walter Faireservis observe that the culture of Indus valley has a considerable influence of Iranian origin.[6] The scholars further argue that the townplanning of Indus valley cities was actually evolved in Mesopotamia. Dr. Sankalia argues that, 'arguments like this cut short any further question as to how and when the Mesopotamian (Iranian) influence reached the Indus valley and also the question why such a planned development of cities built entirely of backed bricks did not take place in Mesopotamia, though geographical and other factors were almost identical.[7]

The expansion of Indus valley culture can be traced with the help of archaeological explorations and excavations, Sir R.E M. Wheeler has rightly remarked that the frontiers of this civilization were very extensive, covering an area of about 84,00,00 square miles. The traces of Harappan civilization has been found in the Punjab, Haryana, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Saurashtra, Kutch and Gujarat [8] The Indus people carried with them their matted surface, decorated with black bands round the rim or a pottery with buff cream or pink background painted with geometric designs in black or chocolate, well aligned brick houses, seals, ornaments, methods of disposal of dead and the like, are special features which show the development of Indus culture.

The problem of Aryan migration is controversial, and the discovery of Boghaskoi inscription has created a suspense around it. Even if we leave the above matter untouched, the problem of expansion of Aryan culture in India is not less interesting. This phenomena has its own significance not only in political but more in cultural history of India and has given birth to regional and pan-Indic culture complex. This expansion can be studied from the literary and archaeological evidences. The archaeologists have associated Painted Grey Ware to the Aryans and this has been regarded as a special feature of Indo-Aryan culture. This ware has been traced from North to South. Its stratigraphical position has also been ascertained. A comparative study of literary and archaeological sources of Vedic period will bring to light the process and area of expansion of Aryan culture in India. The stratigraphical evidences from various sites have brought forward very interesting facts about the expansion of Aryan culture. This expansion of Aryans resulted in the migration of the tribal people also, who evidently after leaving their homes took shelter in more forested regions where they continued to survive even in our modern times. Some tribals turned violent and became a source of nuisance for the Aryan settlements.

---

[6] Gordon D. H. *Prehistoric Background of Indian Culture*, Bombay, 1958, p. 13; Stuart Piggot, *Ancient India*, No. I, 1946, pp. 8, 26; *Ibid.*, No. 3, pp. 131, 142; Walter Fairservis, *Illustrated London News*, August 26, 1961, p. 324; Sankalia, *op. cit.*, pp. 178-179.

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] Wheeler R.E.M., *The Indus Civilization*, London, 1968, p. 2.

The reference of the *Mahābhārata* about the introduction of civilization on the earth by king Prathu presents an interesting example of Aryan expansion.[9] The survival of Pre-Buddhist culture in north India is evident from the numerous archaeological finds from Hastinapur to Kausambi and beyond, to the south of the Vindhyas. The period of expansion cannot be earlier than c. 1000 B.C. and not later than 700 B.C. The existence of Chalcolithic culture in Madhya Pradesh is evident from the Carbon 14 dates supplied by the University of Pennsylvania according to which, it was wiped out of existence in 700 B.C. by the iron using people from Ujjan or the north. It is difficult to have a complete picture of this period due to the paucity of evidences. It seems very likely that the Aryans *ṛṣis* never went to south as conquerors to colonise the south Indian peninsula but established their academic centres which were called the *àsramas*. They enriched the soil with their new ideas, new learning and new interpretation of the local academic traditions. Numerous references to the *àsramas* of the Vedic *ṛṣis* like Bharadvaja or Agastya have been recorded in the Vedic literature as well as in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas. Realizing the complexity of Indian population, the Aryan thinkers proclaimed for an emotional attachment to the motherland, they called it as Bhārata and its population as Bhāratī.[10] India has been described in the Purāṇas as the land of various *janapadas*, mountains and rivers. Religious character of motherland is evident from the long list of the *tīrthas* (places of pilgrimages) enumerated in the *Mahābhārata* and Purāṇas, which covers whole of India as a sacred land. We have no detailed information about those Aryan missionaries who went to south to spread Vedic culture, however, it is not out of place to mention that they might have been the ancestors of the present Brahmanas who inhabit South India today. About the 7th century B.C. the political map of India starts getting clear. The *Mahābhārata* and Buddhist canonical texts present before us a list of the sixteen states called the *Mahājanapadas*. This period may be called as the period of Aryan supremacy which finds its place in the political history of India before the rise of the Pradyotas. The reason for this absence of political history may be that before this period the Aryans could not establish their authority beyond Āryāvarta. They could not move out of Āryāvarta some times before this period, a fact which is also evident from the archaeological sources as discussed before. The destruction of the Chalcolithic culture in Madhya Pradesh strikingly concides with the establishment of the Pradyotas at Avanti who established themselves after assassinating Ripuñjaya of Bṛhadrathas.[11]

---

[9] *The Mahābhārata, Śantiparva*, 227, 49-56.

[10] जनं विभ्रती बहुधा विवाचसं, नाना धर्मंणि पृथिवी यथौकसम्

Atharvaveda, *Pṛthivīsūkta*, 12, 1, 45.

उत्तरं यत्समुद्रस्य हिमाद्रेश्चैव दक्षिणम् ।
वर्ष तद्भारतं नाम भारती यत्र सन्तति ॥

Viṣnupurāṇa Gitapress Gorkhpur; II, 3, 1,

उत्तरेण समुद्रस्य हिमाद्रेश्चैव दक्षिणं
वर्ष तद्भारतं नाम भारती यत्र संतति

Brahmapurāṇa, 16, 1,

जननी सर्व भूतानां सर्वभूतधराधरा
नाना जनपदाकीर्णा नानाधिष्ठानपत्तना
नानानदनदीशैला नैकजाति समाकुला
अनन्ता गीयते देवी पृथिवी बहुविस्तरा

Vāyupurāna, Anandaśrama Sanskrit..series, 1983 ch. 50, śloka 1-4.

With the establisment of the undefinable (*ekacchatra*) and strong rule of the Nandas, followed by that of the Mauryas under the guidance of the erudite politician like Kauṭilya, we find frequent movements of the Arvan thinkers, merahants and the princes to south. The literary reference to the above movements may be supported by the discovery of N.B.P. ware at various places beyond the Vindhyas. Evidently these cross current movements brought fusion of different cultures of India. Round about the beginning of the Christian era the political map of Indian sub-continent (Bhāratavarṣa) gets clear when the *bhuvanakośa* geographical data was compiled in the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas.

Almost at the same time some adventurous Indians migrated to seek their fortunes in Suvarṇabhūmi ' land of gold ' and Suvarṇadvipa island of gold of ancient Indian literature. By the beginning of the Christian era this attempt brought good results and added glorious page to the political and cultural history of India. Indian merchants, Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriya princes migrated to Java, Sumatra, Champa and other countries of south, east Asia for various reasons and established themselves there. These centres of Indian culture were considered as constituents of Greater India.[12]

---

[11] योऽयं रिपुञ्जयो नाम बार्हद्रथोऽन्त्यस्तस्यामात्यो सुनिको नाम भविष्यति ।
स चैनं स्वामिनं हत्वा स्वपुत्रं प्रद्योत नामानमभिषेक्ष्यति
Viṣāupurāṇa, Gitapress Gorakhpur, IV, 24, 2-3.

[12] भारतस्यास्य वर्षस्य नव भेदाः प्रकीर्तिताः
समुद्रान्तरिता ज्ञेयास्ते त्वगम्याः परस्परम् ॥ 78
इन्द्रद्वीपः कसेरुश्च ताम्रवर्णो गभस्तिमान् ।
नागद्वीपस्तथा सौम्यो गन्धर्वस्त्वथ वारुणः ॥ 79

(Contd. on p. 270)

II

The immigrants carried with them their traditions and culture wherever they went which ultimately found expression in literature, art and architecture of those regions. This cultural synthesis found expression in the religious history of India. The Sangam literature of Tamil classics records the migration of the Ayars tribe to south India with the Pāṇdyas. These cowherds carried with them their pastoral traditions of cowherd-god which enriched the Tamil literature and germinated the seed of the lores of Mayon (Kṛṣṇa) and Nappinai (Rādhā) in Tamil and ultimately got its entry in Vaiṣṇavism. The saints and poets accepted Mayon and Rādhā as incarnation of Viṣṇu. Emotional poetess Andala, the daughter of Vishnuchit brought this new form of devotion to popular parlance and within few centuries of Christian era, the traditions of the early life of Kṛṣṇa ingulfed the South Indian Vaiṣṇavism. In this popular form, Rādhā was regarded as an ideal beloved of Kṛṣṇa the God and their love longings were taken to represent the love of soul to God. The love-lores of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa found their safe place in the hearts of the people. Hala, the author of *Gāthāsaptaśati* has collected many such lores in his work, which may be called as the prototype of the stories bearing on the early life of Kṛṣṇa recorded in the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*. Scholars argue that the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* is itself a production of South India. The idea of *bhakti* originated in Tamiland and gradually found its entry in North India, through Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Bengal and Gujarat, which ultimately replaced the Pāñcarātra Vaiṣṇavism.

An example of the cultural influence of North India may also be given from Chalukyan temples at Aiholi which has a considerable influence of nagara type of *Śikhara* Similarly the *Śikhara* of Gupta temple at Bhitargaon, Kanpur district, U.P., has been influenced by the *gopurams* of South India.

An interesting example of blending of religious traditions of south and north India may be cited from medieval period also, when Vallabhācārya (1478-1563), a Tailaṅga Brāhmaṇa of Telaṅgaṇa came forward and brought a revolution in Vaiṣṇavism. His father was Lakṣmaṇbhaṭṭa Dīkṣita who migrated to Kashi from Andhra Pradesh.[13] According to a tradition Yajñanārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, the founder of the family of Vallabhācārya was initiated into Vaiṣṇavism by a Tamil saint Viṣṇumuni sometimes in the 14th century A.D. and from that time

---

अयन्तु नवमस्तेषां द्वीपः सागरसंवृतः ।
योजनांनां सहस्त्रं तु द्वीपोऽयं दक्षिणोत्तरम् ॥ 80

Shri Vāyu Mahāpurāṇam, Ch. 45, published by the Department of Sanskrit, University of Delhi Delhi, 1983. Originally printed by Khemraj Shri Krishnadas Vankateshwar Press Bombay.

[13] Kanthamani Shastri, *Kāṅkrolī Kā Itihāsa*, Kankaroli, V.E. 1996, p. 3.

the family of Vallabhācārya adopted the life of a Vaiṣṇava preacher. While passing through the forest of Champaranya, near Raipur in Madhya Pradesh, the tradition records that, Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa was blessed with the son who was called as Vallabhācārya later on. He received education at Kashi and started propogating his faith. In course of time the sect established many *pīṭhas* and received patronage at the hands of many Indian rulers. Rana Rajasinhji of Mewar invited Shri Brijabhūṣaṇalālajī, one of the descendants of Vallabhācārya who established the *pīṭhas* of Srinathadvara and Kāṅkroli. This example gives us an idea of an interesting religious synthesis which was the outcome of the migration of the Tailaṅga Brāhmaṇas to North.

Migratory tribes and castes have thus been presenting new cultural patterns and new interpretations to the religious lores of India. Not only the Tailaṅga Brāhmaṇas, but the Kannaḍa Brāhmaṇas may also be presented as an example of such religious upsurge. The Kannada Brāhamaṇs migrated sometimes to North India and established many centres of Rāmānuja sect.

They used to speak Kannaḍa language in their houses which got lost in course of time giving place to Hindi. The centres of Rāmānuja sect are mostly in Maharashtra, Gujarat, Rajasthan, Haryana, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa. They may be cited as an academic caste, carrying with them the elements of north and south Indian cultures which ultimately represent holy tradition of India. This cultural synthesis finds its expression in the slogan 'unity and diversity' of Indian Culture. In such a pattern, where north and south Indian traditions met, any type of regionalism was out of question, hence Sanskrit was adopted as a language, which was a link to all the regions in India. Mighty rulers, infused more vigour and strength to such pan-Indic cultural forces. The Nagas, Vakatakas, Guptas, Pratiharas, the Gahadawalas and many others may be cited as an examples of this farsightedness. Local faciforous tendencies could not raise their heads ; when these *chakravarti* powers lost their strength, local dynasties, local cultural elements and local dialects came to the forefront displacing the pan-Indic forces. After the downfall of the Gahadawalas, there was nobody to patronize these unifying forces due to which the fundamental unity of Indian culture started declining. These faciforous tendencies gave rise to modern Indian languages and regional cultures in India.

Before we conclude our interpretation of pan-indic and regional cultural forces, the question that needs to be answered as to who were the leaders of such a grand cultural movement which unified the different races of India into one nation teeming with the life of oneness.

Evidently they were the Brāhmaṇas, who have preserved the religious or spiritual heritage, for which India can boast in the world. It seems plausible to conclude that a study of the organization of this caste may throw some light on the obscure pages of our history.

III

Indian society has recognized the academic and spiritual superiority of the Brāhmaṇas evidently due to their higher knowledge, selfless-sacrifice and spiritual way of life. The name Brāhmaṇas signifies a person who is endowed with superior knowledge of Brahma, the 'Ultimate Being'. They have been regarded as depository of ancient Indian traditions (both written and oral) and have proved their worth in preserving them From ancient times they were offered certain privileges such as freedom from capital punishment, freedom from taxes and the like. A greedy Brāhmaṇa was looked down upon by the society. As discussed above, they guided the destiny of the nation, and were responsible for her spiritual greatness. They conceived India as a motherland with people (*Jana*) as her sons.[14]

To them, rivers and mountains were bestower of life to the people that is why they have been considered as gods in Sanskrit literature. Kālidāsa in his *Kumārasaṁbhava* represents the Himālaya as a god to the people guarding the northern boundary of Bhārata and vast and deep *Pūrva* and *Apara Samudra* (Bay of Bengal and Arabian sea) as ensuring the safety of the southern boundary,

Bhārata as recorded in literature, was not a loose federation of nations but a country emotionally knit together and embellished with vast, varied and rich cultural heritage.

Due to high academic attainment and farsightedness of the Brāhmaṇas, India attained highest status in ancient world, but lost her freedom when they could not keep up their standard. Their spiritual and academic glory has been recorded in literature. They have lost every things today; they are Trivedis and Chaturvedis and the like in names only, most of them have divorced their traditions also. It is possible to believe however, that some usages of the past glory have survived in some traditional families, which may throw a fresh light on the cultural history of India.

Divided into numerous endogamous groups, the Brāhmaṇas have been followers of their traditions and usages and today they reside in almost all the states of Indian union. Even in one state, there are more than one section which were not keeping any relation with the other tiil recently, though they do not differ fundamentally from their brotheren of other states. The endogamous groups of the Brāhmaṇas differ in each state, viz., in Northern India some most important groups are :— Sarasvatas (Dogre) of Kashmir, Gauda of Punjab, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh, Malaviya of Malwa, Sanadya, Saryupari, Gauda and Kanykubjas of Uttar Pradesh, Śrī Gauda of Bengal, Odiyas of Orissa,

---

[14] माताभूमिः पुत्रो अहं पृथिव्या

Atharvaveda, 12, 1, 1-63.

Sakaladvipi and Maithila of Bihar, Mewara, Nagara, Anavila and Audichyas of Gujarat, Deśastha, Kokaṇastha, Karahade and Sarasvatas, of Maharashtra, Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva Brāhmanas of Tamiland. Tailangs of Telangana Numbudris and Kannadas of Kerala. Though there are many other groups of this community but above are more known. These Brāhmaṇas do not marry outside their groups at least formerly. They have their *gotras* viz., Bhāradvāj, Vaśiṣṭha, Kāśyapa, Śāṇḍilya, Upamanyu, Gautama etc., common throughout India. Traditionally speaking, the *gotras* attest great heritage of the ṛṣis, evidently the spiritual ancestor of all the mambers of the caste existing today, that is to say, the Brāhmaṇas of Bhāradvāja *gotra* whether a Kashmiri Brāhmaṇa or a Deśastha or a Gauda or a Sanadya Brahmana of U.P. believe that they have inherited spiritual tradition of the Aryan sage Bhāradvāja, who is known for his great learning in the Vedic lores. Similar traditions have been kept up regarding the Brāhmaṇas of Kaśyapa, Śāṇḍilya, Gautama or any other *gotra*. Although they reside in different parts of Inia, speaking different languges viz., Kashmiri, Hindi, Gujarati, Marathi, Tamil Telegu Kannada or Malayalam, but they profess to possess common spiritual heritage.

Besides these *gotras*, the Brāhmaṇas have their *pravaras*, *śākhās* and Vedas attached to their families. Each group of family used to specialized in a particular section of the Vedas with uptodate commentaries, thus they have preserved vast and varied Vedic literature from a very remote period when the press was unknown. Their sub-sections Chaturvedi, Trivedi, Dvivedi, Bajpai and the like remind us their academic status viz, master of four Vedas, three Vedas, two Vedas or performers of Yajñas, which was an imperial tradition of Kṣatriys kings in ancient period. It was interesting for the Europeans to note that the Pandits have been able to preserve not only the actual texts of the Vedas but the original accent of the Vedic *ṛṣis* with remarkable accuracy.

Studying these *pravaras* and *śākhās* in detail we find that the Dogre Brāhmaṇas of Kashmir are actually Sarasvatas and have Bhāradvāja *gotra*, *tripravara* and followed *Mādhyandinī śākhā* of *Śukla Yajurveda*. The Iyers have main three divisions viz., the Bṛhatcaras (those who used to roam). Vadama (Northerner) and Vattimas residents of the valley. The Tamil Brāhmaṇas have also Bhāradvāja, Viśvāmitra, Śrīvatsa Kauḍiṇya, Śāṇḍilya and Gārgya *gotras* and follow *Ṛgveda*, *Yajurveda* or *Sāmaveda*. The Sarayupari Brāhmaṇa of east Uttar Pradesh also have Bhāradvāja and Śāṇḍilya *gotras*, follow *mādhyāndinī śākhā*, *triprovaras* and *Śukla Yajurveda*. Same tradition is followed by the Sanadya Brāhmaṇas of Braj except some have Gautama as their *gotra* also. The *gotras* of Mithila Brāhmṇas also are Bhāradvāja, Śāṇḍilya, Vatsa and Kaśyapa. They have either *tripravara* or *pañchapravaras*. They follow Vājasaneya Śākhā and *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, and *Sāmaveda* traditions. Slightly different traditions are followed by Sakaladvipi Brāhmaṇas who migrated sometimes from Sakaladvipa and got settled in Bihar. The *gotras* of the Kanyakubja Brāhamaṇs are Bhāradvāja, Śāṇḍilya, Kaśyapa and Upamauyu. The Brāhmanas of Bengal are mostly the descendants of the Kanyakubjas, who evidently migrated from Kanyakubja and got settled in Vaṅgadeśa. The epithet Chattopadhyaya is a corrupt form of Chaturvedi.[15]

In Madhya Pradesh besides the Malaviya Brāhmaṇa there are Kherawal Brāhmaṇas also, who migrated from Khera district, Gujarat. These Brāhmaṇas follow the traditions of the Brāhamaṇas of Madhya Pradesh and have matrimonial relations with them. The Audicyas of Gujarat are divided into two, *Sahasra* (those who came from north in a group of thousand families and *Ṭolaka*) (those who came in small groups). One of their *gotra* Upamanyu is common with the Brāhmaṇas of Bihar. They also follow *tripravaras*, *Śukla Yajurveda* and *mādhyandini Śākhā*.

The problem of migration from one region to the other may also be studied from the epigraphic sources. Though in the epigraphic records several *gotras* of the Brāhmaṇas have been mentioned but a reference may be made of the Chaturvedi Brāhmaṇas to whom several endowments were made by the rulers. Evidently these Chaturvedis originally belonged to Mathura (U.P.) but in course of time they migrated and got settled in Gujarat sometime after the 6th century A.D.

The copper plate of Kharagriha II issued in the year *Saṁvat* 337 (K.E.) on the 5th day of Āṣādha to a Ṛgvedī Brāhmaṇa Narayana of Sarkarakṣi *gotra* who was a Chaturvedi. Similarly Dharasena III in the year 334 K,E. (A.D. 655-54) issued a copper plate grant to Bhatti, son of Bappa, a Chaturvedi Brāhmaṇa on the bright fortnight on the 9th day of the month of Māgha. Bappa was of Kauśika *gotra* and a resident of the village Mahichhaka in Sivabhagapur vishaya. Similarly Navsari Plates of Jayabhat III discovered at Kāyāvarohaṇa, dated 2nd February, 706 A.D. records a Chaturvedi Brāhmaṇa Devasvamin of Pravayana *gotra*, *Mādhyandina śākha* and *Śukla Yajurveda*. He migrated from Girinagar. Nogawan copper plates of Dhruvasena issued on the day of dark fortnight of the month of Chaitra *Śaka* 321 records a Chaturvedi Kumarasvami, son of Buddhasvami of Parāśara *gotra*. He was residing formerly in a Audumbara Vishaya but migrated to Navagrama (Nogawan, M. P.). From Audumbara Vishaya only another Chaturvedi Adityaśarman migrated to Khetaka (Kaira) as recorded in Copper Plate grant of Dharasena IV *Śaka* era 330. The copper plates of Siladitya III dated 669-70 A.D. records the migration of two Chaturvedi brothers of *Daundavya gotra* who were granted a land near Desenaka village on the bank of Madhumati river in Saurashtra. Migration and settlement of a Chaturvedi of Daundavya *gotra* has been mentioned in Plates of Siladitya III issued in the same year. He was an immigrant from Dipa. Mention has been made of a Chaturvedi Narayanamitra of Sarkarakṣi *gotra*, an immigrant from Anartapura. It appears that due to some reason the above Chaturvedi migrated to Gujarat and settled here.

---

[15] (*Chatto* + *Upadhyaya*) = *Upadhyaya* is a general epithet of the Brāhmanas which means as teacher *chatto* stands for the four Vedas i.e. preachers of four Vedas.

The Sankheda plates of Dadda II issued from Nandipura records the grant of a field in the village Suvarnapalli, situated in Sangama Khetaka Vishaya, to a Brahmana Surya, who migrated from Dasapura (Mandasor, Rajasthan). This Brāhmaṇa got settled in Gujarat. Similarly mention has been made of a Tailaṅga Brāhmaṇa Boppasvami, who got settled in Gujarat recorded in the copper plate of Siladitya I, issued from Navalakha. According to epigraphic records several families of the Brāhamaṇas migrated and settled in Gujarat between 6th century A.D. to 1000 A.D. After getting settled, they adopted local traditionons but continued their originality.

Thus we find that the Brāhmaṇas of India, from the Sarasvatas or Dogres of Kashmir to Tamil Brāhmaṇas and Audicya Brahmaṇas of Gujarat to the Bengali Brāhmaṇas have inherited a common spiritual heritage from the Aryana *ṛṣis* like Bhāradvāja, Śāṇḍilya, Vāsiṣṭha and the like. They follow the same spiritual tradition. Many of them follow, *Śukla Yajurveda*, some follow *Ṛgveda* and some follow *Sāmveda*. There is a remarkable similarity even in the other traditions of different *Śākhās* etc., which shows basic unity of traditional India, and interesting aspect of the fundamental unity of our culture.

Besides the above fundamental unity of the sacred traditions of the Brāhmaṇas, they have developed their regional characteristics also. As mentioned earlier, the people after leaving their original homeland carried with them their traditions which continued there, at the same time got some regional colours also. This phenomenen īs true and may be illustrated from many examples. Some Brāhmaṇas adopted regional names such as the Śrīmālī Brāhmaṇas of Śrīmāla, the Tailaṅga Brāhmanas of Telaṅgaṇa, the Mewaras of Mewar, the Kokaṇastha of Konkan etc.

The Tailaṅga Brāhmaṇas may be represented as one of the interesting examples of regional colour. Their exogamous divisions represent a typical Telagu influence. They are divided into Belanadu, Begenadu and Murkinadu. These are further divided into sub-sections viz., Gosami, Kanji, Relu, Vagarandi, Drvida, Karmbha, Bajpayi, Devarishi, Potakurchi and Neta. All these sections besides the above regional epithets follow *Yajurveda* or Ṛgveda which is common with the Brāhmaṇas of other parts of India.

Not only the Brāhmaṇas but even other people who moved out of their original homes and got settled in distant land may also be represented as example of this phenomenon. Taking for example the cowherds (Ahirs of Ayar), we find that all of them, whether the Gollas or Golkars of Mysore, or Ahirs of U.P. or Rajasthan or the Ayars of Saurashtra or the Magadha Ahirs of Bengal, believe that Mathura was their original home and they are the descendants of Nandagopa the foster father of the cowherd god Kṛṣṇa. They speak different languages and they vary even in their features due to different reasons. A study in their dialects and cultures may produce evidence, which may support their oral tradition of original home. Example may be given about the Ahira's of Khandesh district and their dialect is called Ahirāni. A study in Khandeshi or Ahirāni shows that it has a considerable mixture of Gujarati words which may reveal that the Ahirs of Khndesh district migrated sometimes from Gujarat to Khandesh and got settled there. Due to there domination in this region, it came to be called after them, that is to say it became a geographical term, that is why, there are Ahir Sutar, Ahir Brāhmaṇa and the like besides the cowherd Ahirs.

Thus some castes of India like the Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas and Ahirs have two aspects, first is pan-Indic, secondly its regional aspect. However, the business men Vaniyas, they have hardly any contribution to pan-Indic traditions except their regional culture. The business men Vaniyas were moving even in the remote Vedic period from one place to another in connection with their business but they have little contribution towards the cultural or political unity of our country, except earning money. The Rajputs or Kṣatriyas had a broader outlook then the Brāhmaṇas. They have very little regional complex and have exogamous divisions instead of endogamous. Probably due to their system of exogamy, they have been marrying outside their state also, from an early period. Examples may be given of princess Prabhavatigupta, who was the chief queen of the Vakataka king Pravarasena and the Gahadavala princess, the daughter of Mahrajadhiraja Govindachandradeva Gahadavala who according to an inscription found at Gangaikondacholapuram was married to the Chola crown prince. Not only in the past but even in our modern times, many examples may be cited to prove these aspects. Though the Rajputs may speak Gujarati, Hindi, Marathi, Oriya or Maithila but they have not developed parochial tendencies. Interestingly the rituals of marriage ceremony in the Rajputs are common throughout India and there is hardly any regional colour in them, there is no difference in the family environments also.

It is worth pointing out that except big cities like Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta, Madras and a few more, there are mostly small towns and villages in India, where medieval India and ancient traditions still survive. The traditions of such families may reveal some interesting aspects which may not be traced in any written record.

IV

Ethnology in this way, may add a new page and a new line of thinking to reconstruct the history and culture of India or any of the regions. India is a country where bullock carts and airoplanes go together, where vestiges of Prehistoric cultures also survive in some remote and unfrequented areas, therefore ancient and medieval Indian culture still survive in traditional houses. These traditions may be studied and may be utilized to reconstruct the history and culture of our country. The value of this type of field work may be gauged from the fact that literary records in India have not be allowed to survive and they have suffered greatly at the hands of the invaders. An illustration may be given from the Sarasvatī river culture of the Aryans which is also an interesting problem. The *Mahābhārata* gives us an idea of flourishing Aryan colony of Sarasvatī river which was the cradle of Aryan culture. The *Mahābhārata* records that king Matinara performed *Yajña* on its bank which lasted for 12 years.[16] It has been regarded as a sacred river in the *Mahābhārata* due to the existence of the *āśramas* like that of *ṛṣi* Dadhici.[17] It is mentioned as one of the seven channels of Gaṅgā[18] and Śrīkṛṣṇa performed sacrifices over its bank.[19]. Due to menace of the Abhiras, river Sarasvatī disappeared at Vinaśana.[20] Not only above references but many others may be cited to suggest the importance of Sarasvatī river settlement of the Aryans in Vedic period. Fortunately today whole bed of Sarasvatī river has been explored by the team of archaeologist[21] which has brought forward many interesting fact. It would not be farfetched to presume that the Sarasvat Brāhmaṇas inhabiting different regions of India today, would have inhabited this region sometime.

If the traditions surviving in the old Sarasvat families are collected and studied in the light of literary and archaeological evidences, it is possible to get a better picture of Aryan culture of river Sarasvatī. Atleast twenty sites of Grey ware culture have been discovered around Sarasvatī river which shows that it was one of the biggest settlement of the Aryans. Similarly in south India, more archaeological explorations are necessary and there also we may discover more Grey ware culture sites which may help us to assess the expansion of Aryan culture in south Indian peninsula. The Purāṇas and the *Mahābhārata*, being the depository of ancient Indian lores, are also very useful for our purpose and the data collected from these sources may be studied afresh in the light of archaeology and ethnology, which may show a new line of interpretation. It is interesting to study the legend of *ṛṣi* Agastya's migration to south India after crossing the impregnable Vindyas recorded in the *Mahābhārata* and *Vāyupurāṇa*. This legend may be taken to reveal an early attempt of Vedic Aryans to penetrate into south India to spread Aryan culture. The *Mahābhārata* refers to the *āśrama* of *ṛṣi* Agastya at Nasik and the place where he swallowed all the water of the ocean so-called Agastyatīrtha and the hill nearby this place is called as Agastyaparvata in the *Mahābhārata*. Though legendary, its validity is apparent from the existence of numerous images of Agastya and wide prevalence of Agastya cult in in south East-Asia today. A careful study and interpretation of such legends of Sanskrit and Tamil literature may bring out new facts to fill up the lacunae of the cultural history of India.

---

[16] *Mbh.*, *Ādiparva*, 95, 26.

[17] *Ibid.*, *Vanaparva*,, 129, 20-21.

[18] *Ibid.*, *Ādiparva*, 16, 19-21.

[19] *Ibid.*, *Vanaparva*, 12, 14.

[20] *Ibid.*, *Śalyaparva*, 37, 1-2 ; Vinaśana has been located by me to the south of Bahawalpur State. According to *Sabhāparva* it was inhabited by the Sudras and Abhiras in c. 2nd century B.C.

[21] Hanna Rydh, *Rang Mahal*, Acta Archaeologie, Lundensia series, Lund, 1959, p. 23.

Not only the above lores, but there are other examples also where ethnology has attested the cultural data of the Purāṇas. The *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas mention that the Abhiras inhabited the region round about Kangra Chamba hills. After an ethnological survey of the area we find that they are numerous in this area ever today and the land is called Gadderan, i.e. the land of the cowherds, and their dialect is called Gaddi.

The *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* and Jaina literature interestingly describe Khanadesh region as Abhiradesa. The rule of the *Abhiras* over this region is not only evident from the epigraphs but from the oral traditions also. A tradition of Nandurbar (Kandesh) presents before us an interesting account of an Ahir Rajā Nanda, who faught the Turks. The Mullas of the place have preserved some more details of the above Rājā and the residents of Nandurbar point out the spot where he died fighting. His fort, parade ground, water pond and some such places reminded the citizens of Nandurbar of his brave deeds.

In this way we find that a co-relation of history, archaeology and ethnology is necessary to reconstruct the obscure pages of history. History, simply constructed on the basis of written records howsoever reliable, they cannot present a complete picture of the period, till we take up the help of fieldwork, through the disciplines of archaeology and ethnology and the like. To sum up, the process of blending of various cultures, which has been a pattern in Indian history may only be understood, if we study the culture complex which has been developed by curious mixture of pan-Indic and regional forces. An interdisciplinary approach is necessary to understand all the aspects which is a task necessary to be performed by a regional historiographer.

BULLS PRESENTED BY AMBHI TO ALEXANDER

By

APARNA CHATTOPADHYAY*

According to Curtius Rufus Ambhi, the King of Takṣaśilā, surrendered his person and his kingdom to Alexander and among other things that he gave as gifts to Alexander, were included three thousand bulls of valuable breed, highly prized by the rulers of the country.[1] In explaining the reason for the omission of horned cattle in the list of birds and animals prohibited for killing in Aśokān edicts, the omission has been explained by an author as signifying the prevalence of the practice of beefeating in Maurya times. In support of this argument the author points to the fact that the 'government of Taxila had felt no scruple in presenting Alexander with thousands of cattle fattened for slaughter'.[2]

The matter has uptil now, it seems, received just one-sided treatment. If we enquire into the food habits of the ancient Greeks we learn the following. :—

The products of the soil cereals, olive oil, figs, grapes and wine are the staple diet in Attica. Cattle rearing is negligible as a source of food ; horses are bred for racing, sheep for wool, goats for milk, asses, mules, cows and oxen for transport but chiefly pigs for food ; and bees are kept as providers of honey for a sugarless world. Meat is a luxury ; the poor have it only on feast days.... Fish is both a common-place and a delicacy ......cereals take the form of porridge, flat loaves or cakes, often mixed with-honey......... Eggs are added and vegetables-particularly beans, peas, cabbage, lentils, lettuce, onions and garlic.[3]

In the above account we find that excepting the flesh of pigs, the flesh of no other animal was a regular item of food. Even for milk we find that goats were reared for milk and not cows. The cows and oxen along with asses and mules were reared for transport only.

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 35, Nos, 3-4 March-June '86 issue, pp. 279-281

* Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi.

[1] Majumdar, R. C. *The Classical Accounts of India*, Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Publishers, I Edition, Calcutta, 1960.

[2] Smith, V. A., The *Oxford History of India*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, First Edition, 1919 pp. 102-103.

[3] Durant, Will, *The Life of Greece*, 15th Printing, Simon and Schuster, New York, pp. 269-270.

In Alexander's army there were soldiers of Western Asia too. But regarding the food habits of the people of ancient Iraq (Assyria) we again learn that beef was not their food ; and here also we find goat's milk for preparations from milk. Dr. Olmstead says the following about the food habits of the people of Assyria :—

> Meat was rarely eaten............Beef was virtually unknown for the ox was too expensive to be used other than in agriculture. Mutton was the food of the better off .... . Dairy products were common, in general derived from goats' milk[4]... ....

So neither for his Greek soldiers nor for his Asiatic soldiers, the bulls were presented to Alexander to be converted into beef. We have seen that cows and oxen were used by the Greeks for transport. The same practice obtained in India and it is still a practice in the country-side of India. We also hear about ox-races in connection with the court entertainments of Maurya times. These races usually took place between chariots to each of which one horse between two oxen was harnessed.[5] This points to the swiftness of the bulls who could run as fast as horses. In this connection it is worthnoting what Abul Fazl in his *Ain-i-Akbari* tells us about the cows and bulls of Akbars times which were swifter than horses. Abul Fazl says that the cows, apart from providing milk and helping in tillage, were capable of carring burdens and drawing wheeled carriages, and thus those were excellent assistants for the three branches of the government. He tells, further, that every part of the empire produced cattle of various kinds and those of Gujrat were the best. They would travel 80 kos (120 miles) in 24 hours and surpass even swift horses (in speed). We further learn that selected cattle used to be taken by Akbar on his hunting expeditions.[6]

The references given in an authoritative work on Indian History, to a four wheeled waggon drawn by four oxen going at a hand-gallop in Burma, bull-racing in Ceylon and ox-races at Surat, in modern times, are note-worthy.[7]

---

[4] Olmstead, A. T., *History of Assyria*, The University of Chicago Press, Second Impression 1964, p. 558.

[5] Rapson, E. G. S. *Cambridge History of India*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, Vol. I, 1935, p. 417.

Smith V. A. *Early History of India*, At the Clarendon Press, Oxford, 4th edition 1924, p. 129.

[6] Goomer S. L. Ain-i-Akbari, Translated into English by H. Blochmann, Published by N. C. Jain for Imperial Book Depot, 53/D Devnagar, New Delhi-5, 2nd Edition 1965, p. 157.

[7] Smith V. A. *Early History of India*, At the Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1924, fn. No. 2, p. 129.

So, in all probablity, the bulls presented to Alexander by Ambhi were either racers meant for providing entertainment to the Greeks or they were to be used for drawing waggons.

In the interesting description of Alexander's retreat given by Curtius Rufus, we find Macedonian army leaving in gaily decorated waggons.[8] It is quite possible that these waggons were drawn by Indian bulls trotting and galloping, the bulls of the same stock who used to take part in races along with horses. It is, however, to be remembered that the bulls of Ambhi presented to Alexander were spared; they were neither slaughtered to be cooked nor used to draw waggons. Because Alexander had returned to Ambhi everything that the latter had given him. Curtius Rufus says that Alexander......' not only sent back to Omphis the presents he had given, but added a thousand talents from the spoils which he carried, along with many banqueting vessels of gold and silver, a vast quantity of Persian drapery, and thirty chargers from his own stalls, caparisoned as when ridden by himself.[9]

So, atleast, for making gift of stout bulls of excellent breed, to Alexander, Ambhi can be pardoned, since the purpose of it was possibly not for converting them into beef for the meals of the invaders' soldiers.

---

[8] Mujumdar, R. C. *The Classical Accounts of India*, Firma K. L Mukhopadhyay, Publishers, I Edition, Calcutta, 1960, pp. 160-61.

[9] *Ibid.* p. 115.

સ્વાધ્યાય

સ્વાધ્યાય અને સંશોધનનું ત્રૈમાસિક

૧ વર્ષમાં ચાર અંક બહાર પડે છે—દીપોત્સવી અંક, વસંતપંચમી અંક, અક્ષયતૃતીયા અંક અને જન્માષ્ટમી અંક.

૨ **લવાજમ :**

—ભારતમાં...રૂા. ૨૦=૦૦ પૈ. (ટપાલખર્ચ સાથે)
—પરદેશમાં : યુનાઈટેડ સ્ટેટ્સ ઑફ અમેરિકા માટે...૬ ડૉલર (ટપાલખર્ચ સાથે)
—યુરોપ અને અન્ય દેશો માટે...પૌં. ૨.૫૦ (ટપાલખર્ચ સાથે)

૩ આખા વર્ષના ગ્રાહકો લવાજમના વર્ષથી શરૂઆતથી જ નોંધવામાં આવે છે. લવાજમ અગાઉથી સ્વીકારવામાં આવે છે. લવાજમ મોકલતી વખતે કયા વૉલ્યુમ માટે લવાજમ મોકલ્યું છે તે સ્પષ્ટ જણાવવું. ' ડાયરેકટર, ઓરિયેન્ટલ ઇન્સ્ટિટયુટ, વડોદરા–૩૯૦ ૦૦૨ ' એ સરનામે મોકલવું. લવાજમ વર્ષ નવેમ્બરથી ઑકટોબર સુધીનું ગણાય છે.

૪ **જાહેરાતો :**

આ ત્રૈમાસિકમાં જાહેરાતો આપવા માટે લખો—
સંપાદક, ' સ્વાધ્યાય ', પ્રાચ્યવિદ્યા મંદિર, લોકમાન્ય ટિળક રોડ, વડોદરા–૩૯૦ ૦૦૨

૫ **લેખકોને વિજ્ઞપ્તિ :**

'સ્વાધ્યાય'માં પ્રસિદ્ધ કરવા માટે, પાનની એક જ બાજુએ, શાહીથી સુવાચ્ય અક્ષરે લખેલા લેખો મોકલવા લેખકોને વિનંતી છે; શક્ય હોય તો લેખ ટાઈપ કરી મોકલવા જરૂરી છે. ગૂજરાત વિદ્યાપીઠના જોડણીકોશ પ્રમાણેથી જોડણી રાખવી આવશ્યક છે. લેખની મૂળ પ્રત જ મોકલવી. લેખની કાર્બન નકલ મોકલો ત્યારે તે અંગેનું સ્પષ્ટ કારણ જણાવવું.

૬ 'સ્વાધ્યાય'માં છપાયેલ સર્વ લેખોનો કોપીરાઈટ મ. સ. યુનીવર્સિટી, વડોદરા હસ્તક છે. લેખકે લેખમાંનો કોઈ અંશ લેખીત પરવાનગી વગર પુનર્મુદ્રિત કરવો નહીં.

પ્રાચ્યવિદ્યા મન્દિર,
મ. સ. વિશ્વવિદ્યાલય,
લોકમાન્ય ટિળક રોડ,
વડોદરા–૩૯૦ ૦૦૨

સુરેશચંદ્ર ગો. કાંટાવાળા
સંપાદક

A BISCRIPTAL MUGHAL INSCRIPTION FROM GUJARAT

By

Z. A. Desai*

A Mughal record of Shāh Jahān's time, inscribed in Arabic and *Nāgarī* characters, was first published in 1944 in an epigraphical publication of the erstwhile Baroda State.[1] It was a couple of years later republished in a revised form in the epigraphical journal of the Archaeological Survey of India.[2] The inscriptional tablet is built up into the wall to the right side of the gate of the town called Arjunbārī at Vaḍnagar,[3] an ancient town of great importance situated

---

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 35, Nos. 1-2, Sept.-Dec. '86 issue, pp. 283-291.

* 14 Khurshid Park, Sarkhej Road, Ahmedabad-380 055.

[1] Yazdani Dr. Ghulām and Gyānī R. G. *Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State*, part II, *Śrī Pratāpsiṁh Mahārājā Rājyābhiṣeka Granthamālā*, Memoir No. III (Baroda, 1944), pp. 10-11, pl. IV.

[2] Yazdānī, Dr. Ghulām 'Seven New Inscriptions from Baroda State', *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1939-40 (published in 1950), pp. 4-6, pl. I C. The then Director of Archaeology of Baroda State had sent to Dr. Yazdānī, then Director of Archaeology, H.E.H. the Nizām's Dominions, Hyderabad State, and Honorary Muslim Epigraphist to the Government of India, who, as such, edited its epigraphical journal, to decipher and translate them for the Epigraphical Series of that State. The latter pointed out that if they were published in the journal, they would come to the notice of a larger number of readers, but he had no objection to their being published simultaneously in both the places. Ironically, as will be pointed out in the text of the present article, this inscription did not attract the attention of any scholar or historian, least of all, of Gujarat.

[3] Though neither a capital city like Anhilvāḍ-Pāṭan or Ahmedābād, nor a thriving sea-port like Surat or Cambay, nor an important place of pilgrimage like Dwārakā, Pālitānā or Somnāth, the town of Vaḍnagar reduced now to obscurity has been famous for its Vaḍnāgarā Brahmin elites who have been throughout history celebrated in India and abroad for their learning and love of learning. For a history of the town and its monuments, see in English, James Burgess, *Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarat* (London, 1933), pp. 82-86; G. H. Desai and A. B. Charke, *A Gazetteer of the Baroda State*, vol. II (Baroda, 1927), p. 635; Dr. S. B. Rājgor, ed. *Gujarat State Gazetteers, Mehsana District* (Ahmedabad, 19), pp. 840-41; and in Gujarātī, Kanaiyyalal Bhaishankar Dave, *Vaḍnagar* (Baroda, 1937); Dhanvant Ojha, *Vaḍnagar* ( ); Dr. B. J.

(Cond. on p. 284)

in the Kherālu *tāluka* of the Mehsānā district of Gujarat State.[4] Though published twice, the epigraph has been overlooked by the writers on the history and monuments of Vaḍnagar and historians and epigraphists of Gujarat,[5] which is all the more surprising since, another epigraph, in Sanskrit, occurring on the same gate, has been visited and described by most of the writers on the subject.[6] And, the epigraphical tablet is too conspicuous to escape the notice of even a casual visitor, leave alone a serious student of history.

The result of this unawareness of or indifference to this epigraph executed in two scripts was that on one hand the fact that the published version was imperfect and incorrect was overlooked and on the other its historical importance providing among other things interesting linguistic and historical information, could not be taken note of by students of political history and also of history of Gujarati language. It was, therefore, considered necessary to re-edit this inscription and attempt its complete reading, pointing out at the same time its importance.

Sandesara, 'Vaḍnagar ane tenā avasheso' (Vaḍnagar and its remains) *Buddhiprakāsh*, vol. XCVI, No. 5, pp. 162-66; Ramanlal Joshi, 'Vaḍnagar', *Sanskruti*, vol. XI, No. 4, pp. 149-52; Dr. K. F. Sompura, 'Vaḍnagar : Koṭ ane Śripāla-Praśastī' (Vaḍnagar : city-wall and Śripāla Praśastī), *Pathik*, vol. XI, No. 1, pp. 87-92; *Smaraṇikā* (Souvenir), J. C. Lions Club, Vaḍnagar, 1983, etc.

[4] *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1974-75, No B 18, D 46.

[5] Among the first to draw attention to this record of the Chaulukya ruler Kumārapāla, date V. S. 1208 and rewritten in V. S. 1689, were Alexander Kinlock Forbes and Dr. Harilal Harshadray Dhruva; the former had got its reading prepared, which is preserved in the Society formed in memory of and named after him (*Forbes Gujarātī-Sabhā Mumbai nā hastalikhit pustako-nī-nāmāvali Catalogue of the manuscripts in the Forbes Gujarātī Sabhā*, Bombay, ed. R. R. Ambalal B. Jānī, part 1, Bombay, V. S. 1979, A. D. 1923, pp. 92-94), while the latter had referred to it in his article on the Dohad Chaulukya epigraph published in *Indian Antiquary*, vol. X (1888), p. 160. Dr. G. Bühler had edited it in *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. I, pp. 296-301, from the paper-rubbing and transcript supplied to him by Vajeshankar Gaurishankar Ojha. All subsequent writers including G. V. Āchārya, *Gujarāt-nā Aitihāsik Lekho*, vol. II (Bombay, 1935), pp. 40-42, have based their notices of the epigraph on Dr. Bühler's article.

[6] Apart from the above works on the history and antiquities of Vaḍnagar, the volume on Mughal inscriptions in Sanskrit published in the epigraphical series on the historical inscriptions of Gujarat of the Forbes Gujarātī Sabhā Bombay, does not contain any notice thereof (Dr. H. G. Shastri, ed. *Gujarāt-nā Aitihāsik Lekh*, bhāg 5, Mughal-Kāl—*Historical Inscriptions of Gujarat*, part 5, Mughal Period, Bombay, 1981).

Dr. Yazdānī calls this a bilingual record in old Gujarātī Urdū and Hindī,[7] which is not correct, as will be presently seen. He found it 'difficult to decipher the inscription in full' because, 'the surface of the tablet appears to be completely worn, for the estampage shows that many of the letters have peeled away'. It was perhaps for this reason that he was not sure of the reading of four words in the deciphered portion of the text in Arabic characters.[8] The text in Nāgarī which was not given by him in the earlier attempt, was deciphered for him by Dr. A. Sharma (perhaps of the Osmania University, Hyderabad) who also compiled the notes given along with its translation.[9]

The epigraph, as stated above, is inscribed in two scripts but is not bilingual. The writing in the two scripts does not represent two different texts or versions in two languages, old Gujarātī Urdū and Hindī as understood by Dr. Yazdānī, but the text in both the scripts is the same except with very minor changes in two three places as will be shown later. Therefore, it is not a bilingual record but a bi-scriptal one, which is rather unusual. It comprises a short poem of three verses in Hindī with traces of Gujarātī influence.

Before discussing the importance of the epigraph, its contents be first described. The epigraphical tablet measuring about 55 by 50 centimetres is divided into four panels with thick borders. The writing in Arabic script is engraved in relief in the panels, with one hemistich a panel, while the *Nāgarī* version is incised, that is to say cut into the stone in the manner of Sanskritic records, on the thick panel borders themselves necessitating the smaller size of its letters as compared to the text in Arabic characters; in the bottom border occurs the Hijra year and month engraved, again, in relief. The poetic text in *Nāgarī* characters is written as usual in Sanskritic epigraphs in a running hand that is to say without leaving any space to distinguish one hemistich from the other, but marking it with a vertical stroke as usual.

The style of Arabic writing is Nastalīq of a fairly good type. The writing in both the cases is affected by exposure of the inscriptional tablet to inclemencies of nature resulting in the damage to letters, which however is not the only result for the incomplete (and incorrect) decipherment of the text in Arabic script as stated by Dr. Yazdānī or that of the *Nāgarī* version, but, unfamiliarity with the language of the text is more responsible for the incomplete and somewhat incorrect reading of the epigraph.

---

[7] Yazdānī, *op. cit*., p. 4.

[8] *Ibid*., p. 5.

[9] *Ibid*., pp. 5-6. Dr. Sharma's reading is to a great extent correct, but translation and notes are quite misleading.

The text has been read as follows.

Plate

(a) Text in Arabic Script

(۱) چیت ماس تتھ پورنماسی سولہ [1]سہی پر [2]ادھک نواسی
(۲) اسلام‌خان صوبی [3]پر کاجی لطف الہ یہ [4]جس اوپراجی
(۳) [5]نربھی کرن [6]سکل نر ناری [7]نول [8]کرا [و]ای ارجن باری
(۴) سری سدھناتھ درسن [9]یاس کبت کوی جگجیونداس
(۵) شہر رمضان سنہ ۱۰۴۲

---

1 Yazdānī, *op. cit.*, reads سی .

2 *Ibid.* reads it doubtfully on the basis of the Nāgarī reading.

3 *Ibid.* reads this doubtfully.

4 *Ibid.* reads حس .

5 *Ibid.* reads نیربھی .

6 *Ibid.* reads شکل .

7 *Ibid.* reads بول .

8 *Ibid.* omits.

9 *Ibid.* reads پاس .

(b) Text in *Nāgarī* letters :

१ चेत[1] मास तिथि पूरणमासी । सोले सहिपरि अधिक न व्यासी । इसलामखान सोबि परि
२ काजी । लुत्फला एह यश उपराजी । निरभव करण सकळ नरनारी । नवल
३ करावी आज्रण बारी [।] श्री सिघनाथ दसरण आस । कवित कीया जगजीवनदास । १ ।

---

1 Dr. Sharmā reads : चैत (or चित्त ?).

2 *Ibid.* reads : सू (or सो)ल.

3 *Ibid.* reads these two words doubtfully.

4 *Ibid.* reads नव्वासी.

5 *Ibid.* reads अ (इ) ? स ल (?) म स्वांन.

6 *Ibid.* reads सोभी (बि ?).

7 *Ibid.* reads पुरि (?)

8 *Ibid.* reads लत्फलाएह.

9 *Ibid.* reads मु (उ ?) प [रा]जी.

10 *Ibid.* reads [बो]लि.

11 *Ibid.* reads करे श्री (or करावी).

12 *Ibid.* reads अज्ञन

13 *Ibid.* omits.

Translation

(1) In the month of Caitra, on the full-moon day, (when) eightynine were added to sixteen hundred,

(2) Islām Khān was the Kājī (Qāḍī, here meaning governor)[1] (and) Luṭf-ilāh (i.e. Luṭfu'llāh) with good name was the deputy here,[2]

(3) for making every man and woman free from fear[3] (of marauders), he reconstructed the Arjanbārī.[4]

(4) In the hope of the *darśan* of Lord Sidhnāth,[5] Jagjīvandās has composed this *kabīt* (poem).

(5) Month of Ramaḍān, year (A.H.) 1042 (12 March-10 April 1633 A.D.).

The pūrṇimā, i.e. 15th day of the bright half of the month of Chaitra, V. S. 1689, corresponded to the 15th March 1633, according to the Kārtikādi calculation.

It may be pointed out that the name of the gate is spelt in the *Nāgarī* characters as Ājran bārī,[6] while in the Arabic script it is written as Arjan or Arjun Bārī. That the name was Arjunbārī is proved by the spelling in the Chaulukya Praśastī mentioned above.

From the above, it will be seen that the text of the epigraph is identical with the exception of very minor spellings of four words, viz. *navyāsī* in *Nāgarī* and *navāsī* in Arabic script; *jas* and *yash; nirbhava* and *nirbhay*; *jās* and *yās* and *kiyā* and *kave*. Therefore, it would not be correct to call it a bilingual record, but a bi-scriptal one.

---

[1] Dr. Sharmā (EIM, *loc. cit.*, p. 5) translates : Islāmkhān, the Kājī at Sobipur (?) and tends to take Sobipur as the likely name of some district.

[2] Dr. Yazdānī, *op. cit.*, p. 5, translates it as '(the governor) blessed by divine grace as well as by royal favour'. Dr. Sharma translates : through the grace of God (his ?) fame is glorious (?).

[3] *Ibid.* has free from fear (distrust).

[4] Dr. Yazdānī omits. Dr. Sharmā has : he (got) built (Śrī) Arjan Bārī having sent for (architects (?).

[5] Dr. Yazdānī translates : to adore Śrī Siddhanāth. Dr. Sharmā's note on this hemistich reads : " first half—only *Śrī Siddhanātha* is clear. The rest I could not decipher even with the help of the Urdū version. It is very difficult to read *darśana pāsa*. It looks something like शरण प्रकाश (*śaraṇa prakāśa*), but gives no meaning and is extremely doubtful. I am also doubtful about the Urdū version reading darśana pās. There seem to be additional letters besides. "

[6] Dr. Sharmā also thinks it to be a mistake for Arjana.

The epigraph thus provides a specimen of the language then easily understood and perhaps spoken in Gujarāt. A remarkable thing about it is that it is not pure Gujarātī but Hindi of Brijbhāṣā type. It can in no case be called old Gujarātī Urdū as designated by Dr. Yazdānī. Apart from three words of Arabic origin, there is nothing therein to associate it with old Urdū i.e. *Gujaratī* or *Dakanī* as it was called in Gujarāt and Deccan respectively. On the contrary, the poem called *kabit* by its composer Jagjīvandās in the fashion of Hindī poets, bears definite though only a few traces of the influence of the local, that is to say, Gujarātī language as is evidenced by the words *navyāsī* and *naval karāvī ajranbārī*. Except for this, the language is Hindī. Or rather, it can perhaps be taken to be a precursor of the modern Hindustānī.

As regards the composer, no information is available about his life or works. His very name is perhaps preserved by the epigraph under study.[1]

Historically too, the inscription is important. It throws some light on the extent of the tenure of the Mughal governor of the province, Islām Khān. He is believed to have governed Gujarat during 1631-32.[2] This is evidently wrong as apart from the contemporary historical works, the epigraph clearly states that at the time of the reconstruction of the gate, that is on the 15th March 1633, Islām Khān was the governor of the province.

As to Islām Khān, two prominent noblemen bearing this name served Mughal emperors Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān, viz. Islām Khān Chishtī and Islām Khān Mashhadī Of the two, the latter only was associated with Gujarat. He was appointed as the governor in the fourth year of Shāh Jahān's reign or some time during 6th December 1630-24th November 1631 and continued in the post till the sixth regnal year, i.e. till some time during the 14th November 1632—2nd November 1633).[3] Nowhere the exact month of the regnal year of his recall has been mentioned in historical works. But he had continued in the post well beyond 1632 upto at least 15th March 1633 is shown by the record under notice. The epigraph thus provides a definite date in the governor's tenure and corrects the error referred to above.

---

[1] He is evidently different from the historian Jagjivan Dās son of Manohar Dās Gujarātī who was connected with the court of the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb's son and successor Shāh ' Ālam Bahādur Shāh (1707-1711).

[2] Parikh R. C. and Shāstrī, Dr. H. G. ed. *Gujarāt-no Rājakīya ane Sanskrutik Itihās (Political and Cultural History of Gujarat)*, vol. 6 (Ahmadabad, 1979), p. 61. The writer of the concerned chapter relies for these dates on Professor M. S. Commissariat, *History of Gujarat*, vol. II (Bombay, 1957), p. 110, who also does not give any detail about Islām Khān beyond just referring to his governorship.

[3] Shāh Nawāz Khan, *Ma'āthiru'l-Umarā*, vol. I (Calcutta, 1888), p. 163. The contemporary Shaikh Farīd Bhakkarī, *Dhakhīratu'l-Khawānīn*, vol. III (Karachi, 1974), pp. 25-27, does not mention the appointment of Gujarat governorship in his account.

The epigraph also indirectly reflects the prevailing sense of insecurity, at least in the rural areas, at the period. The reconstruction of the gate was carried out for the safety and security of the residents of the town and their belongings too, evidently. The reconstruction must have been made, though not mentioned as such, at government expense, as the state was responsible for the maintenance of the law and order.[1]

The inscription also seems to provide the name of a new Mughal official in Gujarat, not known from any other source. He appears to have been mentioned in the second hemistich of the second verse, but the meaning of this portion of the text is not absolutely clear with the result that it is not possible to say anything beyond any shadow of doubt about his name, his status and the part he played in the reconstruction of the structure.[2] In the rewritten version of the Chaulukya record mentioned above, its writer Vishnujī who has added two cantos to the original epigraph—which may, incidentally be termed as the Sanskrit counterpart of the biscriptal epigraph under study——also gives the name of the official who was responsible for the reconstruction. But unfortunately, the portion containing the name could not be completely read by Dr. Bühler, who was compelled to state that the first of the two additional verses added by its composer and the writer of the second hand copy of Śripāla's Praśastī, Vishnuji Joshī, records the reconstruction of the rampart executed by a king whose name is not entirely readable, and it mentions the Arjunabārikā, i.e., the Arjuna Bārī where the slab is fixed.[3]

Apart from the fact that the above does not give the exact purport of the additional verse, as will be pointed out later, it is not possible to attempt a fresh decipherment ; no rubbing of the Praśastī is available nor is it possible at present to prepare a fresh one or to try to read the portion on the spot, as the epigraphical tablet is fixed at a considerable height and moreover, it is covered by a wire-gauze by the archaeological department.[1]

---

[1] It may be recalled in this connection that the well known history of Gujarat *Mir'āt-i-Aḥmadī* mentions a number of occasions when Aurangzeb had sanctioned grant for the repairs to the city-wall of the Ahmadābād, Àzamābād, Jagat, etc. and step-wells, Ahmedābād mosques etc. (Àlī Muḥammad Khān, *Mir'āt-i-Aḥmadī*, part I (Baroda, 1928), pp. 279, 290, 291, 292, 316, 324, 325, 326, 328, 329 330, 331, 335, etc.

[2] Scholars of Gujarātī and Hindī languages may perhaps be able to throw light on this aspect.

[3] Bühler, *op cit.*, p. 296 ; Āchārya, *op.cit.*, p. 40.

Dr. Bühler's reading of this portion of the text is as under :—

पुनर्नवीना लत्फहा — त — बेग मिर्जा ने ⌣ नेन नृपण करिता ॥ १ ॥

From the above, there is little doubt that the name of the official or person responsible for the reconstruction ended in Baig Mirj (z)ā. But it is difficult to say for certain if it started with T — or Latfahā. In the former case, the missing long syllable after T could only be ' qī ' which would give the name as Taqī (Baig Mīrzā). In the alternative, the missing long syllable could only be ' lā ' as is indicated by the reading of the word inscribed in both the *Nāgarī* and Arabic scripts in the Mughal record under study. In that case, the name would be " Latfahala t Baig ". Personally I feel there is some confusion here ; in the name part of the text here, no syllable is missing but ' t ' is a mistake for ' la ' or ' lā '. In other words, the name intended here could be Lutfahaḷā (or Luṯfullāh) Baig. The word Luṯf (-i-) Ilāh in Arabic script and Lutflā in *Nāgarī* letters are variants of Luṯfullāh only. Thus, very probably the official intended by Vishnujī Joshī is Luṯfullāh Baig. This would also clear up to some extent the ambiguity in the meaning of the second hemistich of the second verse of the record under study.

That the above name is almost certainly the case is also indicated by another independent reading of the Praśastī preserved in the Forbes Gujarātī Sabhā, Bombay, mentioned above. The relevant part has been thus read by the person who prepared that reading :—

पुनर्नवीना लुफुल्लावेगा मर्जाभिधाने न नृपेण कारिता ॥ १ ॥[2]

The name has been stated by the Cataloguer of the manuscripts in the said Society as ' Aluful Baig ' while it is evidently Lufulla Baigā or Luṯfûllāh Baig.

Thus it is almost certain that it was Luṯfúllāh Baig who was responsible for the recostruction of the structure. It may also be pointed out that according to this reading by an anonymous scholar, the structure that was rebuilt was not the Arjun Bari gate itself but the———*pratolikā* to the right of the said gate.[3]

---

[1] It is desirable that as and when repairs to the place are undertaken, rubbings of the inscription are prepared, and if necessary, the portion is examined by a competent epigraphist on the stone itself.

[2] Jānī, *op.cit.*, p. 94.

[3] Dr. Sompurā *op.cit.*, *pratolikā* means gate only.

In short, for the present we may safely say that the reconstruction of the Arjun Bārī, referred to in the biscriptal record was carried out by or under the orders of Luṭfūllāh Baig, who was a deputy (उपराजी) of the governor or jāgir-holder in this region. Needless to say, he is untraceable in historical records including the *Mir'āt-i-Aḥmadī*. The epigraph is thus historically quite important.

The epigraph also tends to suggest the circumstances under which the second copy of Śripāla's Praśastī came to be made on the first day of the bright half of the month of Caitra of V.S. 1689, by Vishnujī Joshī, Nāgar, son of Venī (dāsa) or Venī (lāla). The original inscriptional tablet might not have been in a well-preserved state or might have been inadvertently damaged when the rebuilding project was undertaken and the persons in charge must have commissioned a local scholar, who Vishnujī must have been, to prepare the second copy. Thus the credit of preserving the Chaulukya record can be indirectly given to the official or his man looking after the reconstruction work. This fact also would have remained unnoticed but for our epigraph. It may be noted that Vishnujī Joshī does not refer to the setting up of another (biscriptal) tablet to commemorate the said event ; perhaps, he did not think it necessary to mention the obvious.

A SURVEY OF SANSKRIT WORKS ON THE GAME OF CHESS*

By

SIDDHARTH Y. WAKANKAR**

It is a matter of great wonder that Sanskrit scholars-engaged as they are in the research of traditionally accepted fields, such as Vedas and Vyākaraṇa, Vedānta and Nyāya, Dharmaśāstra and Alaṅkāraśāstra and to some extent scientific and technical literature in recent times-hardly pay due attention to that part of Sanskrit material which is connected with the everyday life and hence more appealing to the general public. Consequently, Sanskrit is taken to be a language of the elite in the society and got estranged from the common folk. This misunderstanding was caused more by Sanskrit scholars who hardly tried to project the social motivation/orientation of Sanskrit language and literature. It is, indeed, unfortunate that even after independance, there has been no appreciable change in the outlook of research scholars in Indology, who still continue to apply their minds and energy to age-old subjects. No wonder that many a Sanskrit scholar is hardly aware of the heartening fact that India is the birth-place of Magic Squares (See my article, "Magic Squares of Sanskrit Origin", *Journal of the Oriental Instiute*, Baroda, Vol. XXX. Nos. 3-4, March-June, 1981) and Chess, the King of Games. The field of Games in Sanskrit literature is one that still remains unexplored. Hence, I have thought it proper to devote my time and energy to this neglected field. In the 31st Session of the AIOC, held at Jaipur in October, 1982, I did present a long paper on "Sanskrit Works on the Game of Gañjiphā, that is Playing Cards". Now, as a sequence to it, I propose to put before the scholars that Sanskrit material which describes the Game of Chess-Four-handed as well as Double-handed-that I could collect. Some of the works were meant exclusively for the detailed and minute description of this game, while, others dealt with this game during the course of their discussion of matters not at all connected with this game. At the outset, I put on record that this is an earnest attempt on my part to furnish as much information of Sanskrit works-books as well as manuscripts-as has been possible for me to collect. It is also true that at times, my efforts in the form of letters and reminders have not been crowned with success, resulting into incompleteness of information. Nevertheless, I can modestly state that I have not spared any pains in collecting material.

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 35, Nos, 3-4 March-June '86 issue, pp. 293-303

* Paper read at the 32nd Session of the A.I.O.C. held at Ahmedabad from 6 to 8th Nov. 1985.

** Oriental Institute, M.S. University of Baroda, Baroda.

While preparing this resume, I frankly admit the immense help derived from the following pioneering efforts of Indian scholars-their articles as well as books and express my heart-felt gratitude to the authors/editors of the same.

(1) "Sanskrit Works on the Game of Chess" Chintaharan Chakravarti, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 14, No. 1, 1938.

(2) *Caturaṅgadīpikā* of Śūlapāṇi-Critically edited by Manomohan Ghosh, *Calcutta Sanskrit Series*, No. 21, 1936.

(3) *Caturaṅgavilāsamaṇimañjarī* of Triveṅgaḍācārya—Critically edited in Marathi by G. R. Kulkarni, Haldikar, Kolhapur, 1937. and

(4) The volumes of the *New Catalogus Catalogorum*-University of Madras.

It will be clear that apart from these works printed in the thirties, there are hardly any significant contributions to this field either in the form of books or articles or bibliography. Hence, the author thought it worthwhile to prepare a detailed list of all the known material on this subject, specially those works that came to light in the last fifty years.

With this prefatory note, the author humbly submits the fruits of his single-handed efforts in the following pages for the persual of the scholars.

(1) *CATURAṄGAKERALĪ* : This work is not available anywhere. It is known only from its reference in the article. "Sanskrit Works on the Game of Chess" of Shri Chintaharan Chakravarti, quoted earlier.

(2) *CATURAṄGAKRĪḌANAM* : This is not a separate work, as is supposed to be, but, is a part of *Smṛtitattva* of Raghunandana Bhaṭṭācārya, the famous 16th century Dharmaśāstra writer from Bengal. In turn, the description in *Smṛtitattva* is a verbatim copy of the first known Sanskrit description of Caturaṅga from the *Caturaṅgadīpikā* of Mamāmahopādhyāya Śūlapāṇi, the well-known *Smṛtinibandhakāra* from Bengal who flourished in the 15th century.

There are some mss. of this work which is supposed to be an independent treatise. I got their Zerox-copies for my study. But, on a careful persual, I realised the fact that these works are not independent, but, a copy of the description from *Smṛtitattva*. But, for those who may be interested, I give below the details of those mss.

(A) Gautama-*Caturaṅgakrīḍana*-Dacca ; number not given. Ref. : p. 225, Vol. VI of *New Cat. Cat.* Madras Uni. I tried to get a copy of this, but, could not succeed. Hence, it is difficult to say if the contents are the same as in the work of Raghunandan.

(B) *Caturaṅgakrīḍanam-Gautamabhāṣitam*-Ms. No. 6249. Sawai Man Singh II Museum, City Palace, Jaipur. This ms. of 5 folios has in all 40 verses and the date of the ms. is approximately 18th century.

(C) *Caturaṅgakrīḍanavidhiḥ*-Ms. No. 3771. Raghunath Temple Library, Jammu. This ms. of 4 folios has only 38 verses and the passage is said to be from *Jayakaumudī-a* Dharmaśāstra work. The ms. is dated Saṁvat 1883, Śrāvaṇa Śukla 15, Guruvāsare ....

As is said earlier, these descriptions are nothing but a copy of the one from *Smṛtitattva*, which in its turn, is an extract from *Caturaṅgadīpikā*. A few words about this earliest-known work will be given under the entry of CD.

(3) *CATURAṄGAKRĪḌĀ* by Vīravalli Budha. *Aśvacakra* from, I.M. 1259.

This work is a chart or picture describing the movements of the horse. By the way, it may be noted here only that there are some mss. on Chess in Libraries such as S. M. Singh II Mus. Jaipur etc. which give nothing but diagrams showing the movements of the horse only, without giving any text. Such mss. are not included in this survey.

(4) *CATURAṄGAKRĪḌĀŚLOKĀH*-Ms. No. MD 14601 (incomplete).

This incomplete work explaining the method of playing *Caturaṅga* is so brittle, that its transcript or zerox-copy could not be supplied by the authorities of the Govt. Oriental Mss. Library, Madras. So, it is very difficult to know its contents etc.

(5) *CATURAṄGATARAṄGIṆĪ* of Vaṁśamaṇi.

The copies of this unpublished work are available at Mithila, Nepal, Varanasi etc. in scripts such as Maithilī, Devanāgarī etc. The present author is very much regretful because he could not acquire any details or any copies of this work from any of the places mentioned above. The Sarasvati Bhavan, Varanasi, has another ms. named *CATURAṄGIṆĪ*, which may be the same as this one. But, in the absence of any concrete proof, it is very difficult to say anything in this regard. One thing, however, is certain that this work is in Maithili script, suggesting thereby the Maithila school of game as different from the Bengal School, which do have some minor differences between them, though fundamentally, they seem to be similar. Such a school in Maharashtra also existed, which had its own tradition, as will be discussed afterwards while dealing with Skt. Mss. from Maharashtra.

(6) *CATURAṄGADĪPIKĀ* of MM. Śūlapāṇi-15th century. Critically edited with translation, Notes and Introduction by Manomohan Ghosh, *Calcutta Sanskrit Series* No. 21, 1936.

The only ms. of this work, on which the above edition is based-was written in *Śaka* 1701 (A.D. 1779) and was at Viśvabhāratī, Ms. No. 970.

The work is composed in Sanskrit prose and verse and appears to be a collection from various works on the subject. This view is further supported by the mention of certain works like *CATURAŃGAPADDHATI*, *Mālikā* or *Divya-mālikā*, *Yāmala*, *Bhārata* etc. and of authors like Vyāsa, Manu, Yama, Pitāmaha, Bhṛgu, Gautama, Gurucaraṇa etc. As the luck would have it, none of the above works nor the works of any of the above-mentioned scholars/authorities is available to us. It is just possible that there must have been traditions of these authors-the then *Caturaṅga* players and authorities. But, they remain only in names for us—making it a very difficult task to prepare a cohesive account of the works, their contents as well as authors. The learned are earnestly requested to help this scholar in his endeavour to revive games in Sanskrit literature by supplying him any useful information, they might be having.

The *CATURAŃGADĪPIKĀ* (CD.) is the first-known Skt. work describing the Game of *Caturaṅga*-four-handed chess. It had four Kings with their army, the opposite kings being allies. The four Kings with their army had the following colours and places to be occupied : Red in eastern direction, green in Southern, yellow in western and black in the northern direction. One very surprising factor in the game was : It was played with the help of two dice. The two cubic dice were marked on their sides with numbers from 1 to 6. According to CD. nos. 1 and 6 carried no value or were treated as zero. The value of the throw was to regulate the movements of the chess-pieces. The rule for that was : The King and the pawn moved by the throw of 5, elephant by 4, horse by 3 and the boat by 2. In fact, it was a Dharmaśāstra-injunction that on the night of Aśvini Paurṇimā, the people should keep awake throughout the night by playing with dice. This fact is further corroborated by the famous Raghunandana Bhaṭṭācārya (16th cent) in his *Tithitattva*, when he describes the game of *Caturaṅgakrīḍana* in 35 verses under the heading " *Atha Kojāgarakṛtyam* ".

It may be frankly admitted here that the dice was used in this game, but, all its details are not clearly described in this work. It will be clear when a person actually plays the game with dice. There are certain occasions when the throw of the dice creates difficulty and proves useless.

After the general decription of the chess-men, their ways of movements etc., the author of CD. describes different kinds of victories and defeats, such as *Siṁhāsana*, *Catūrājī*, *Nṛpākṛṣṭa*, *Bṛhannaukā*, *Naukākṛṣṭa*, *Ṣaṭpada* and *Kāka-kāṣṭha*. For the capture of every piece, a stake—to be mutually decided—was to be paid by the loser to the capturer. For other details, the interested persons are requested to read the printed edition.

It may be noted here that this is the only work which says that the game of *Caturaṅga* (Chess) was played with dice. Hence, it was a game purely based on luck—the throw of dice. But, when the dice was prohibited by Dharmaśāstra, the game of four-handed chess slowly was turned into the double-handed modern game of chess, with necessary modifications and came to be known as the

BUDDHIBALA-where talent, intellect and logical reasoning was more important than luck. Hence, all the other descriptions of Chess in Sanskrit are of *Buddhibala*, which was to be played by two opposite Kings, purely on the strength of their talents and capacities.

(7) *CATURAṄGAPADDHATI*—This work is known only by its reference in the CD. and the article of C. Chakravarti in IHQ.

(8) *CATURAṄGAPRAKĀŚA*—This lost work also is known because of its mention in the *Bengali Viśvakoṣa* and IHQ article of C. Chakravarti.

(9) *CATURAṄGARACANĀ* of Giridhara.

Only one copy of this work is available at RASB, Calcutta. This work is supposed to be a part of a bigger work called *Śatarañjinī*, ascribed to Kṛṣnarāma. A copy of this *Śatarañjinī* was deposited at Bikaner Library. But, now, it is reported by the Curator of the Library to be missing.

(10) *CATURAṄGAVINODA* of Vaidyanatha Payagunde-18th century.

Though Dr. Buhler had referred to this work without the mention of its author or exact place of deposit, till recently, no copy of this work was available in India. Fortunately for me, Dr. G. C. Tripathi, Principal, Ganga Nath Jha Kendriya Skt. Vidyapeetha, Allahabad, supplied me a copy of this work in 45 verses with the help of his Research Officer, Shri Jiveshvar Jha. This description of *Caturaṅga* was the end-portion of a ms. from the collection of the late MM. Hara Narayana Shastri, a noted scholar from Lahore—Delhi. Dr. Tripathiji received this collection for his Institute on 27-1-1980.

Another copy of this work is at America in the famous Weber collection. My friend Prof. Dr. George Cardona of the Pennsylvania University extended his whole-hearted co-operation by sending me a zerox-copy of the entire material. On the top of one of the papers the date is **22-1-1872**. It means that this work was either copied down by the late Weber himself or he got it copied down from someone on this date and then it was taken to America. It is a matter of great surprise that this copy and the one from Allahabad are exactly the same. The work gives a systematic account of the game right from the arrangement of the chess-men, their movements as well as other elementary rules of the Double-handed Chess. All the details will be dealt with when the author writes a paper on this work from the pen of a first-rate grammarian from Maharashtra. Here I express my deep sense of gratitude to all the three scholars who extended prompt co-operation.

(11) *CATURṄGAVILĀSAMAṆIMAÑJARĪ* of Triveṅgaḍācārya, a Court Pandit of Bajirao, the IInd. 19th century.

This is the most extensive work on the game of Chess. The mss. of this work are available at many places such as Pune, Kolhapur, Baroda, Calcutta, Dhule etc. indicating thereby the popularity and spread of this best work on chess. Its excellent edition in Marathi was brought out by G. R. Kulkarni Haldikar from Kolhapur in 1937. Its contents in brief are as follows : The exhaustive Introduction gives the details about the then known research and editions of works dealing with this game, the origin and development of *Caturaṅga* and its subsequent transformation with some necessary changes into *Buddhibala*, the salient features of both *Caturaṅga* and *Buddhibala*, the Indian as well as Western rules of Chess-playing, the movements and strength as well as the varieties of check-mates.

The original Skt. work gives interesting details before actually describing 100 problems with their solutions. Triveṅgaḍācārya says that there are three schools of chess, viz. Hindusthani (Northern), Karnataki (Southern) and Vailayati (European). The Chinese school is not described because it is worthless-*Caināderalpasāratvāt tanmatam na spṛśāmahe* (verse 12, ab ;). He has further described *Mahāvilāsa*-a game with 100 houses/squares. This is the first attempt at increasing the no. of houses from 64 to 100 and it definitely speaks of the talents of the Pandit. Now-a-days, in the West also the concept of Brighter Chess (corresponding to the *Mahāvilāsa*) is being propagated by great chess-authorities like Mr. J. R. Capablanca. The really sound scholars of chess will be surprised to find a number of challenging games described in this work. In fact, the author's claim that : *Abhedyā viṣamā bandhā durgamā vismayapradāḥ | Nirūpyante'tra sakalā ye syurlokavilakṣaṇāḥ | |* verse 29 in the *Prastāvanā*- is rightly justified. I may go a step further and say that if this book is studied very carefully by the budding chess-players, they will definitely be invincible champions. The veracity of this statement can be tested by actually playing the games described in this work.

(12) *CATURAṄGAVIHĀRA*—Moves of Dice in Chess—by Krishnaraja Wodeyar III, King of Mysore, 1794-1868 A.D.

This ms. in Sanskrit and Marathi was in the collection of the Govt. Oriental Mss. Library, Madras till 1964. But, the present Curator informs me that the work is now not available there. The late Shri C. Sivaramamurty told me that now the work is in the custody of the Director of Archaeology and Museum, Madras. I wrote several letters to the Director, Dr. R. Nagaswamy, but unfortunately, no letter was replied. Hence, it is very difficult to get a fairly good idea of the contents of this work. " *Mss. from Indian Collections, Descriptive Catalogue,* " National Museum, New Delhi, 1964, supplies the following details about this work on pp 35-36. : This paper ms. has 32 folios in *Devanāgarī* script. It was composed in Skt. and Marathi by Krishnedramaharaja of Mysore.

This is another work like the C.D. which describes the use of dice in chess. Here it is not possible to say definitely whether this chess is four-handed or double-handed. But, one thing is certain-It does suggest that there must have been some remnants of this type of chess played with dice at Mysore, at the time of Krishnaraja Wodeyar, III. Or he might have attempted to revive this lost tradition, as he did in the case of Playing Cards, by describing its 13 varieties in his *Śrītattvanidhi*, along with a Kannada commentary.

(13) *CATURAṄGASĀRASARVASVA*—Krishnaraja Wodeyar III.

The copies of this work do not exist. Its only mention is on p. 191 of "*History of Mysore and Yādava Dynasty*" by G. R. Josyar and on p. 349 of Vol. IV. of New Cat. Cat.

(14) *BĀLAKAHITABUDDHIBALAKRĪḌANAM*. circa 10-12 century.

This small work of 7 verses with a commentary Bhāminī (both the authors unknown) was appended at the end of the Marathi edition of *Caturangavilāsamaṇimañjarī*. In this short work, meant for the children, the anonymous author gives details about the chess-board, arrangement of the pieces, their movements, varieties of victories, revival of the dead pieces etc. The most important thing is the reference to one Lakṣmaṇa Paṇḍita. Another feature of this work is-there is not a single Persian word such as *Māta*, *Burjī* etc. used in the course of the treatment, suggesting thereby its composition prior to the Muslim period. Thus, it can be said to be the earliest work on chess, found so far.

(15) *BUDDHIPRAKĀŚA* of Nīlakaṇṭha. V.S. 1899.

This work on chess is very rare and available only at the BORI (No. 1038/1891-95). I am very much grateful to the authorities of BORI, especially, Prof. Dr. G. K. Bhat, the then Director and Shri Gokhale, from the Mss. Section, who very kindly prepared a transcript of this important work for me.

This unpublished ms. has 5 folios and 48 verses. The author is one Nīlakaṇṭha, son of Siddheśvarācārya of Pratiṣṭhānapura. The ms. is dated : *Saṁvat* 1899, *Āṣāḍha Śukla* 6, *Guruvāsare*, finished in Jayarashtra.

In the span of only 48 verses (*vasvabdhipadyaiḥ*), the author systematically describes all the necessary details of the game of chess with sub-titles such as *Atha balam* (army), *atha sthāpanam* (arrangement), *atha gatiḥ* (movements), *atha balābalam* (relative strength of the pieces), *atha prathamacālanam*-beginning of the game etc. In the course of the description, the author gives some new information : e.g. *khaṇḍa* meaning obstruction to the king ; *taṭa* meaning the non-plussed king, that is the king who is so checked that he does not know to which side he should move. Another important feature of this work is its frequent reference to the works *Buddhiprakāśa/Sumatiprakāśa*, which seem to be other extensive works on the subject, on which the author seems to have heavily drawn. All these things will be discussed in a separate paper based on this ms.

(16) *BUDDHIBALALAKṢAṆAM*-from the *CETOVINODANAKĀVYAM* of Daji Jyotirvid.

The author was a protege of Shivaji, the King of Kolhapur and the great grand son of Cchatrapati Shivaji, the Great. This *kāvya* is primarily devoted to a description of the places of pilgrimage from Karavira to Kashi. Surprisingly, the author describes from verses 173 to 409 three indoor-games, viz. Chess, *Dyūta* and Playing Cards-Gañjīphā. This portion of the work is definitely *Cetovinodana*-entertaining to the mind. The work was composed in *Śaka* 1745 and *Saṁvat* 1879 at Kashi, that is in the twenties of the last century. A few words about the description from this unpublished work would be worthwhile.

There are in all 49 verses (from 173-220) describing all the necessary details regarding the game. The most significant feature of the description is the reference to earlier (and now known only by names) authorities on chess such as : *Juvubhaṭṭa-bājipantau Rāmānujapuṇḍalikajayarāmāḥ/ Tanmatāni dṛṣṭvā lakṣaṇam etanmayā kṛtam sakalam//*verse 215, which clearly suggests that our author did derive immense help from the works of these scholars, which are now lost to us. It does support our view that we had a separate tradition of chess-players/scholars in Maharashtra at least till the time of our author (A.D. 1818). It is an irony of fate that no work of any of the authors is now known to exist-thus hampering the study of the development of this game, especially in Maharashtra. The scholars are solicited to help me in this task by furnishing any useful information they might be having.

(17) *ŚATARAÑJAKUTŪHALAM*-

Many mss. of this work are in RASB and one at the G. N. Jha K. Skt. Vidyapeetha is recorded in their catalogues. The Allahabad ms. was published in 1981 by Shri Jiveshvar Jha, Research Officer from that Institute, in the *Baladeva Upadhyaya Fel. Vol.* pp. 145-150 (Hindi Sec.) The first edition of this was brought out by Shri Chintaharan Chakravarti in 1946 as the *Sanskrit Sahitya Parishad Series* No. 24.

The work has only 10 verses and is introduced as a discourse given by Kṛṣṇa to Rādhā. It has a commentary by an unknown scholar. The work is supposed to be written in *Saṁvat* 1914 *Phālguna Kṛṣṇa* 13, *Śanivāsare* for the benefit of the students of the Akṣarapāṭhaśālā. The Allahabad ms. is dated : *Saṁvat* 1922, *Śaka* 1787, *Pauṣa śuddha* 1, *Bhaumavāsare* Mathurāharaṇyā *likhitam*. The work is very ordinary and simple and the author says that he has composed this work for the increase-sharpening-of the intellect of the intelligents and immediately gives a curious etymology of the word *Śatarañja* as entertaining hundred persons. See the 2nd verse :

Matimatāmatimatyabhivṛddhaye viracitam śatarañjakutūhalam /
Naraśatānyanurañjayati dhruvam taduditam śatarañjamato'rthataḥ //.

The other verses describe the basic nature of the game.

(18) *ŚATARAÑJAKRĪḌĀ* OR *BUDDHIVILĀSA* in 8 verses by Nīlakaṇṭha.

Dr. C. S. Sundaram, Associate Editor of the New Cat. Cat. kindly supplied the information regarding the places where the ms. of this work are deposited. I am very grateful to him for his kind gesture.

One ms. is (now was) at the A. S. Dahilaxmi Library, Nadiad, No. 29.3. I made ten trips to Nadiad to get this ms./its copy or at least a look at it. But, the authorities told me that the work is lost, and hence, nothing can be said about it now. The Punjab Uni. Library Lahore, has two mss. No. PUL. I.p. 102 and PUL. II. p. 206. Like the earlier one, this PUL ms. also could not be procured despite desperate hunt. So, it is impossible to say anything about this also.

(19) *ŚATARAÑJAVILĀSA*-Fol. 2-10. No. 45493.

This work is mentioned on p. 150, Vol. XII of " *A Descriptive Catalogue of Skt. Mss. in the Varanaseya Skt. Vishva Vidyalaya* ". I have been trying for the last 7 years to get a copy of this work, but, could not get any information also till now from the authorities of the Sarasvati Bhavan Library.

(20) *ŚATARAÑJINĪ* of Krishnarama. Bikaner 1546.

This rare ms. is now lost as per the information supplied by the present Curator of the Anup Skt. Library, Bikaner. It is supposed to be a bigger work from which Giridhara is supposed to have copied his work known as *Caturaṅga-racanā*.

(21) *ŚETARAÑJARAṄGA* of Devaśaṅkara Vyāsa. Bom. Uni. 2318; F. 6. Date of composition *Śaka* 1607; age of the ms. *Śaka* 1650 *Kīlakanāma-saṁvatsare Āśvina Śuddha* 12 *Guruvāsare* Rāmacandreṇedam *pustakam likhitam.*

This is one of the oldest works on Chess, composed in *Śaka* 1607, corresponding to 1686 A.D., three hundred year-old.

This small poem of 37 verses gives the rules for the movement of the chess-pieces. It is a kind of a discourse given by a lover to his beloved, as is clear from the very beautiful epithets used for his sweet-heart. I may mention a few of them here for the sheer joy of the *rasikas*. *Suratacature*, *Ibhagate* (v. 2); *Cāmīkaragirikuce* (v. 15); *Śrimadrākāyāminīśopamāsye* (v. 18); *Khañjanakṣobhinetre* (v. 17); *Vinodadakṣe* (v. 31);

In the 4th verse, the author says that since, this is an *Āsura* game, there are Prakrit words in it. (Cf. *Khelo'yam syāt Āsure divyadakṣe, tasmādatra prākṛtāssanti śabdāḥ/*). Hence, we find some non-Sanskrit, that is Persian, words such as *Darājabājī* (v. 20), *Rejabājī* (v. 22). Another speciality of this work is : it gives two diagrams explaining verses 28-30 wherein the movements of the horse are described (*Aśvacālanaprakāraḥ*). It, however, contains 2/3 mistakes, as the present author will point out in his separate paper based on this work. Then the author describes various ways of check-mates and other important matters regarding the game.

One more interesting thing about this is : This work composed nearly 300 years ago in Baroda is intact at Bombay and its incomplete mss. are available in Gujarat at Ahmedabad, (L. D. Institute), Baroda (Oriental Institute) and Nadiad (Dahilaxmi Lib.). The titles of those mss. are as follows :

(A) *Śetarañjagrantha* or *Dyūtagrantha*—O. I. Ms. No. 4557; F. 6. Śaka 1803.

(B) *ŚETARAÑJAKHELANAKRAMAVIVECANAPAṬṬIKĀ*—attributed to some Kālidāsa—O. I. Ms. No. 23245; F. 2. V. S. 1926.

(C) ŚETARAÑJĀDIBĀJĪGRANTHA—L. D. Institute. Ms. No. 7993. F. 2. Circa 18th cen.

(D) It is just possible that the *ŚETARAÑJARAṄGA*, Nadiad Ms. No. 18. 10, F. 4, V. S. 1767 may be the same work as the one at Bom. Uni. But, since, I could not verify it in ten trips of mine to Nadiad-it being misplaced-it is very difficult to say anything positively on this point.

I conclude this long Survey by mentioning some very well-known printed works describing the game of *Caturaṅga*.

(22) MĀNASOLLĀSA OR ABHILAṢITĀRTHACINTĀMAṆI of Someśvara III of the Chalukya family-12th century. In the *Krīḍāviṁśati*, verses 560-633, he has extensively described the game as it was current and known to him at that time.

(23) *NĪTIMAYŪKHA* of Nīlakaṇṭha-16th century. Last twenty verses.

The account is very clear and easily intelligible and other normal things are described here along with some interesting instructions about the chess-board.

(24) *ŚRĪTATTVANIDHI* of Krishnaraja Wodeyar III-King of Mysore (1794-1868).

This work was published by Venkateshvara Press, Bombay, in *Saṁ* 1958, *Śaka*, 1823.

In this work, there are in all 9 chapters, known as *Nidhis* (treasures). The last chapter is termed as *Kautukanidhi* and describes 13 varieties of Playing Cards and Chess in nearly 10 verses, mainly the movements of the horse.

(25) *KRĪḌĀKAUŚALYA*-20th Ch. of the *Miśraskandha* of the *Bṛhajjyotiṣārṇava*—composed in Śālivāhana *Śaka* 1793 by Harikrishna, son of Venkataram. Printed at the Jagadisvara Printing Press, Bombay, 1885. Reprinted by the Ministry of Education, at the time of the Asiad 1982.

This is the only Sanskrit book entirely devoted to the description of the games, especially those, current in Maharashtra and Gujarat. The author was an Audicya Brahmin of Gujarat and a resident of Aurangabad in Maharashtra.

This is the most exhaustive as well as exhausting description of Chess in Sanskrit along with Hindi Dohas and Marathi verses (from verses 345 to 540). The speciality of this is the detailed description of all the necessary and significant matters connected with chess with quotations from different authors such as Kālidāsa, Nīlakaṇṭha etc. and Nīti works. At many times, the explanations of the games also are given. It also gives *Yavanapaddhati*, *Hūṇadeśīyapaddhati*, (i.e. European) chess-boards of 100, 144, 196 squares. The most astonishing thing is the different varieties of the movements of the horse along with 82 diagrams (*bandhacakras*). The champions should really try to judge its worth and enlighten others like me.

This is all that this young scholar has to say about the Sanskrit works on the Game of Chess. The discerning scholars are requested to kindly add to this bibliography and help him in preparing an exhaustive list of the extant works describing this King of Games, which originated in this Blessed Land of ours. This scholar is humble in his attempt to attract the attention of scholars as well as lovers of Sanskrit to this neglected field of Games in Sanskrit Literature, a project which he is carrying out single-handedly since 1979.

A KNOTTY PROBLEM FROM GĀTHĀSAPTAŚATĪ

By

V. V. Gangal*

Gāthāsaptaśatī has received a very sloppy treatment from the traditional rhetoricians and from modern critics who pretend to analyse the *Gāthā*s sociologically. One such instance, among many others, is the comments that we find on *Gāthā*s 119, 120 and 122. The text and plain translation of the *Gāthā*s is as follows :

अज्ज कइमो वि दिअहो वाहवहू रूवजोव्वणुम्मत्ता ।
सोहग्गं धणुरुम्पच्छलेण रच्छासु विक्किरइ ॥ १ ॥

It is so many days and as yet the wife of the forester, proud of her beauty and youth, is scattering (i.e. publicising) her good fortune (*Saubhāgya*) in the streets in the form of the scrapings of the bow.

उक्खिप्पइ मण्डलिमारुएण गेहङ्गणाइ वाहीए ।
सोहग्गवअवडा अ व्व उअह, धणुरुम्परिञ्छोली ॥ २० ॥

See, the whirlwind is tossing up the row of scrapings of the bow from the courtyard of the house of a hunter's wife as if (it was) the banner of her good fortune.

णववहुप्पेम्मतणुइओ पणअं पढमघरिणीअ रक्खेन्तो ।
आलिहिअदुप्परिल्लं पि णेइ रण्णं धणुं वाहो ॥ २२ ॥

Thinned by the love of the new wife, the Hunter, keeping (the show of) courtesy towards the first wife, carries to the forest his bow, difficult to lift even though scraped off.

We may dismiss without any ceremony the suggestions of the Sanskrit rhetoricians about the *Gāthā*s 119 and 120 being addressed by a love-messenger to a dandy, indicating that the forester's wife, being so attached to her husband and being loved by him so much is not or cannot be made amenable to ' your entreaties ' or that the *Gāthā* 119 is a rebuke administered by a friend to a hunter since he is over-indulging in sexual intercourse, etc.

The suggestion contained in these *Gāthā*, even after making allowance for hyperbole, is preposterous. It is—The newly-married hunter has given himself so wantonly to the enjoyment that he is weakened to such an extent that he cannot

---

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 35, Nos. 3-4, March-June '86 issue, pp. 305-308

* 14/B, Sion Kamgar Housing Society, Sion, Bombay 400022.

lift his bow. So his wife, naturally proud, that she holds such a complete sway over him, is scraping chips off the bow to make it lighter for her emaciated husband to carry.

The bows of Bhils, Katkaris and other forest tribes are made of bamboos. The bamboo used was and is of a superior variety. The efficiency of the bows depended upon their stretchebility. They have to be very taut and very resilient. The foresters had to run after their game wielding their bows and the quivers *Kaṇḍakaraṇḍaa*. They did not ride horses. The bows, thus, were quite light. It is ridiculous to imagine that a newly married, young forester would be weakened, by over-indulgence to such an extent that he won't be able to lift it. Moreover, how lighter will it be made by the wife if she scrapes it and the layers she takes off are easily carried away by wind ? Either the poet who wrote the couplets had never seen or lifted a bow or he had not understood the significance of a forester's wife scraping the bow of her husband—which may be a strange custom among the forest tribes. Throwing the shavings of husband's bow to the winds and thus proclaiming one's *Saubhāgya* is, indeed, a strange way of doing it. The Sanskrit *Chhāyā* (parallel rendering) renders *Dhaṇurumpa* (119) by *Dhanuṣṭvaṣṭatvak* i.e. the skin scraped off the bow and (120) by *Dhanussūkṣmatvak* i.e. fine skin of the bow. To scrape a thin layer of the bow may have been a custom whose significance is not known to us.

If it is just to be dismissed as a poet's fancy in describing the novel way of proclamation of her *Saubhāgya* by a *Vyādhavadhū*, no further probe is indicated. However, to get at the root of this kind of fancy would be interesting from the sociological point of view.

Out of the fifteen references to the ' bow ' in the *Gāthāsaptaśatī*, two (473, 986) are to the bow of cupid, three (584, 707, 802) are to the rainbow (Indra's bow), one is to the bow used to throw stones (*Guṭikādhanu*—177). One *Gāthā* (424) just plays upon the curvature of the *Daṇḍa* and the straightness of the arrow to indicate incomplaibility of the crooked and the straight-forward. One *Gāthā* (504) uses the hackneyed metaphor of a bow in the form of the eyebrow. We are thus left with only seven references to a bunter's bow proper. Even out of these, two (601, 618) *Gāthās* dont's help us to guess the weight of the bow. The hunters in both are suddenly overwhelmed by compassion for the prospective victims viz. deer and drop the bow. One *Gāthā* (116) describes the hunters as leaning against their bows (obviously unstrung) as they watch clouds gathering on a peak of the Vindhya mountain, indicating that the bow was strong enough. *Gāthās* 119 and 120 refer to, as mentioned above, the shaving of the skin by the hunter's wives. One more *Gāthā* 663 refers to the son lightening the bow by scraping it and his mother or mother-in-law getting worried that he is so weakened that he won't be able to lift his father's or father-in-law's bow. The *Gāthā* is

कण्डन्तेण अकण्डं पल्लीमज्झम्मि विअडकोअण्डम् ।
पइमरणाइ वि अहिअं वाहेण रुआविआ अत्ता ॥

Shaving the staff of the terrific bow, for no rhyme or reason, in the midst of the hamlet, the hunter made the mother (or mother-in-law) weep more than at her husband's death.

The juxtaposition of the words *Kaṇḍanteṇa* and *akaṇḍaṁ* is obviously for alliteration. The first word is rendered *kaṇḍūyatā* and if reading in the original is taken as *kaḍḍhateṇa* or *kaṇḍunteṇa* and its Sanskrit rendering as, *ākarṣatā* or *karṣatā ca kaṣṭam* the action of shaving off the skin of the bow may not result as the meaning at all. However, even if we accept *kaṇḍūyatā* as the correct Sanskrit rendering, the mystery becomes 'curiouser'. How light can a bow be made, assuming for the sake of argument that it really was *viaḍa* (*vikaṭa*) and needed lightening, by just scratching it ? Moreover, the act of dragging or scratching the bow is performed in the very midst of the foresters' settlement. Why should such an act make the mother or mother-in-law sadder than at her husband's death, is really incomprehensible from the internal evidence of the *Gāthās*.

The *Gāthās* (54, 57) describe the twang of the bow also hyperbolically. It is described as more deafening and frightening than the fall of thunderbolt (54) and like the echo of the fall of a thunderbolt. (57) One is reminded of a similar hyperbole about the blowing of conches in the *Bhagavad-gītā.* (स घोषो धार्तराष्ट्राणां हृदयानि व्यदारयत् । That din rent the hearts of the Sons of Dhṛtarāṣṭra).

Out of a dozen or so references to arrows in the *Gāthāsaptaśatī* ten describe cupid's arrow and are therefore incapable of throwing any light on the actual bows and arrows. *Gāthā* 630 is interesting and curious. There is a reference to the quiver *Kaṇḍakaraṇḍaa.* [Why should it be rendered as *Kāṇḍasamūha* in Sanskrit when *Kāṇḍakaraṇḍaka* would be more straight forward ?] In that *Gāthā* the mother of a hunter bewails the pass to which he has been brought by 'the glances of the daughter-in-law'. Formerly he used to inflict widowhood on she-elephants with one arrow, (itself an unfounded exaggeration) now he is 'so looked at by the daughter-in-law' that he has to carry a quiver (presumably full of arrows). The *Gāthā* does not mention whether his bow-was suitably lightened by the wife. His concentration was so affected that he could no more make short work of an elephant with one arrow. We need not go into the details of elephant-hunt, never the job of a single hunter !

From actual sociological surveys of the surviving foresters (भीलः भाषा, साहित्य और संस्कृति—डॉ. नेमिचंद्र जैन पृ. ११४) all that we learn about archery and marriage is that one of the ways of selecting the groom was to test his skill in archery. "There is an interesting custom of the test of skill among the Bhils of the Deccan.

If the boy and the girl have fallen in love with each other, the boy is ordered to shoot at a target with his bow and arrow *tīra/kāmaṭhī*. The target is a lemon-fruit kept at an approximate distance of a furlong. The prospective groom is allowed to shoot three arrows. If he is successful in any one attempt, the couple is united. If he fails in all the three, he loses that girl for life. He has to accept that girl as a sister, with the tribe as witness." We can presume that a girl so won would be proud of her husband and of herself, that she would show off among her peers that were 'bought' on payment of *dāpā* (brideprice), she would understandably flaunt about the bow with which the feat was accomplished by her boy-friend, now her husband ! Unfortunately the sociological surveys have nothing to say whether 'that' bow was given to the wife as a gift and whether she paraded her *Saubhāgya* by just scraping chips off it. This is a ground dangerous for mere scholars of language to tread. A field-worker conversant with tribal life—present and past—must illuminate the path made hazy by poetic and commentarial fancy !

LANGUAGE OF THE *DASAMUHAVAHO* I.E. *SETUBANDHA*

By

I. SAIBABA*

The *Dasamuhavaho* (Dv)[1] is the only extant *Prākṛta Mahākāvya* that has come down to us. To call Dv. as *Rāvaṇavaho* is a misnomer. For the author explicitly styled his work as *Dasamuhavaho*.[2] The word *Dasamuha* has a special bearing on Pravarasena's work. There is an interesting reference to the 'five *Mahākāvyas*' in the *Paümacariü*, an Apabhraṃśa poem. This explains that at the time of *Svayambhū*, the *Dasamuhavaho* was one of the five *Mahākāvyas*.

Having a continuous tradition of literary esteem, Dv. has been commented upon time and again. But the early commentaries are irrecoverably lost.

Scholars like Siegfried Goldschmidt, Lüdwig Alsdorf, Kṛṣṇa Kānta Handiqui, Vasudeva Mirashi, Rādhā Govinda Basak, Ādinātha Upādhye are of the view that the language of the Dv. is Māhārāṣṭrī. It is also true that the Dv. has been edited by three competent scholars till now, under the same notion. To the general editor of the *Prākṛta* Poems, the dictum of the *Prākṛta* Grammarians is a measuring rod to determine the reading rather than the MS. tradition or textual criticism. It is sad to note that most of the *Prākṛta* poems are uncritical editions, depending on the whims and fancies of the editors. Johannes Hertel, long before has strongly protested against the manner of correcting *Prākṛta* Texts according to *Prākṛta* Grammarians. Moreover the scribes did not care for preserving intact the linguistic forms in their pristine form.[3] Hence a critical editor should not rely upon either on *Prākṛta* Grammarians or on MSS. material.

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 35 Nos. 3-4, March-June'86 issue, pp. 309-310

* 14-12 SKR Nagaram, Hyderabad-500 660.

[1] I have followed the edition of the Sanskrit College, Calcutta 1959 ed. by Dr. Radhā Govinda Basak, with the commentary of '*Setutattvacaṅdrikā*'. This seems to be culling from the previous Commentaries (vide the introduction to the '*Setubandha*' by Prof. Kṛṣṇa Kanta Handiqui, Ahmedabad-1975)

[2] Pravarasena used '*Dasamuha*' 34 times '*Dasavadana*' 13 times and '*Dasāṇaṇa*' 6 times. Cf. 12th Gātha .... *dasamuhassa vahaṃ* /.

[3] It is not out of place to quote Dr. Ādinātha Upādhye. The learned Indologist wrote elsewhere " .... the earlier Mss. contained more Śaurasenisms which were eliminated in later codices under Māhārāṣṭrī influence. (vide Page 153-Notes to the *Kuvalayamālā* Part ii.

The Dv. is now available in two corrupt recensions-Southern and Northern. All the preserved Mss. are removed from the original by nearly two thousand years. As time marches on considerable number of forms and expressions had become obscure and incomprehensible. The other headache with the Dv. is the interpolated verses.

To study the Dv. in depth, a critical edition with all the variants is an urgent desideratum. As far as my investigation about the language of the Dv. goes, I strongly feel that it is *Śaurasenī.* Even the good old Mss. of the 'Gadhākoso' of Hāla betray Saurasenisms.

The change of medial 't' to 'd', the treatment of Kkha-kha < kṣa, the suffix 'alla' to adjectives and past participles, using gerundives as nouns, softening of 'ka' into 'ga', locative singular in 'mmi', predominent use of *tuvam*, *tubbha*, *atta*, *matta*, *purusa*, *bambha*, *dāṇim*, *gaham*, etc. unmistakably show that the language is *Śaurasenī.* The same tendency is also met with in the *Saṃkkhita Taraṃgavadī*, even though a redaction.

To settle the verocity of contention, one ought to refer to the Mss. and not to the printed editions which bristle with corrupt and bizarre readings.[4]

---

[4] Some of them : *Bāha* (everywhere), *Vanthe* (13-xc), *Ppalibā* (v-Lvi), *Luä* (11-xxviii), *Ṇaḍāla* (11-xxxvi), *Cakkāā* (10-xxiv) etc. These are decidedly later forms.

NEAPOLIS
CAPITAL OF ROYAL SCYTHIANS IN UKRAINE, U.S.S.R.

By

W. R. RISHI *

The first inhabitants of the Pontic Steppes north of the Black Sea about whom we know from the written sources were the Cimmerians. They had been living there since the end of the Bronze age and the transition period from the Bronze to the Iron age i.e. from the end of the II Millenium to the beginning of the I Millenium. The Cimmerians belonged to the same ethnic group as Thracians. The Thracians belonged linguistically to the Indo-European family. Therefore, the Cimmerians may be considered Aryans as well. This is also supported by the fact that the name of their chief was Sandakśathra which is certainly Iranian.

Scythians

The Cimmerians were replaced by the Scythians or Śakas (Scythians and Śakas are synonyms) in the IX-VIII centuries B.C. Scythians or Śakas appeared in the history of nations about 1500 B.C.

The formation of Scythians' tribal union including not only nomads but also agriculturist tribes took place in the VIII and VII centuries B.C. The unification of tribes, known to the ancient authors by the name of " Scythia " existed in the Pontic Steppes upto the III century B.C. The Scythians created a brilliant and primitive culture which exerted a strong influence on the population of the Eastern and Central Europe. The role of the Scythians was so great that the whole of this period in the history of South Russia was called the " Scythian Era ".

The chief Scythian tribe, the Royal Scythians, lived on the left bank of the lower Dnieper possibly right upto the Sea of Azov and lower Don. Scythian Nomads inhabited the right bank of the lower Dnieper. The Agriculturist Scythians lived between Panticapeaum (Ingul) and Dnieper. Scythian Ploughmen lived in the forest-steppe stripe of the Ukraine between Dniestr and Dnieper.

History of Scythia

The history of Scythia can be divided into two periods : the first from VII to V century B.C. and the second from V to III century B.C. During the period

---

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 35, Nos, 3-4 March-June '86 issue, pp. 311-316

* 3290/15 D, Chandigarh-160015

Mr. Rishi visited Neapolis in 1984 as Laureate of Soviet Land Nehru Award from VII to V century B.C. the Scythian tribes continued to live in conditions of primitive communal system. The Scythian society consisted of free communities—nomad cattle breeders and horsemen-agriculturists. The economic unit of the Scythian society was the patriarchal family. A number of such families made a clan. The clan owned land and distributed it to each family. Each family of the nomad Scythians had cattle, but, as in the case of Scythian-agriculturists, the land was common. The clan organisation of the nomad Scythians played a major role in the distribution of pastures, and places of stay etc.

The beginning of the Scythian history was marked by campaigns against the rich countries of Upper Asia. From the seventies of the VII century B.C. the Scythians appeared in the countries of the Ancient East along with the Cimmerians, but, they acted in isolation. During the VI century B.C. the Scythians did not accomplish distant campaigns. During this period both the Scythian-nomads as also the Scythian-agriculturists-established trade relations with the Greek cities of Olbia, Tyras, Chersonesus and Panticapaeum on the Black Sea. The Scythians sent to the Greek cities, grain, fur and slaves and in return received wine, valuable ceramics, jewellery etc. The most important event of the Scythian history of VI century B.C. was their war with the Persian King Darius I who attacked Scythians in 514-513 B.C. Darius could not subdue the Scythians, who continued to fight a guerilla war. He was forced to leave Scythia.

At the end of the V century B.C. and the beginning of the IV century B.C. the development of production, increase in trade and change in production relations in Scythia gave birth to a class society and State. The Scythian king Atea removed other kings and himself usurped all the power. He lived a long ninety years' life and during the forties of IV century B.C. accomplished the unification of his country from lake Maeotis (the sea of Azov) to Istre (Danube) and later started moving to the west, beyond Danuble. In 330 B.C, Philip II attacked Atea in the Danube area and killed him. The centre of Ateas kingdom was on the lower Dnieper where at the end of the V century B.C. came into being a strong settlement, the so-called Kamensky townlet, practically opposite Nicopol. It was equipped with a high rampart and a ditch. On the south-western part of the townlet, there were additional fortifications—acropolis, where the houses of the nobility were situated. This played the role of citadel during defence. In the IV to III centuries B.C. Metallurgy became a profession in addition to agriculture. This townlet was not only a metallurgical centre, but, also an administrative and trade centre of Scythia carrying on intensive trade with Greek cities situated on the northern bank of the Black Sea.

Great changes which took place in the social structure of Scythia during the IV century B.C. are reflected in the kurgans (barrows) of Scythian nobility which are known as "Tsarki Kurgan" (Royal barrows). Some of these were more than 20 metres in height and in diameter about 400 metres. Many were buried in antiquity, but, the articles, which have been found from them, speak of a wonderful wealth of people buried in them. The barrows found with the articles in Chertomlyk, about 20 kilometres from Nicopol, Solokha, the region of Dnieper cataracts, are particularly important. Kings and other members of nobiliy were buried in deep graves which were complicated in structure. Clothes with gold plaques, swords with handles, arrows with golden heads, vessles of gold and amphorea, sacrificial meat in big bronze couldrons, accompanied the deceased of the nobility to their after-the-grave life. Ordinary people were buried in barrows with ordinary things—with arms, mainly arrow-cases and spears, women with ordinary ornaments.

A study of the Scythian antiquities speaks of the typical Scythian applied art. Many of the jewellary items made of metal and bones were in the so-called "Beast Style". Scythian artisans loved to adorn their things with portrayal of beasts in motion.

Neapolis—the new capital of Royal Scythians

By the end of III century B.C. the area of Scythian Kingdom got very much shortened as a result of the Sarmatian tribes coming towards the west. The centre of Scythia went over to Crimea. The capital of the State became Neapolis. Scythians occupied lands on the lower Dnieper and Bug. The remaining territory in the steppes previously occupied by Scythians came into the hands of the Sarmatians.

Visit to Neapolis

As a laureate of the Soviet Land Nehru Award given to me for my book "India and Russia—Linguistic and Cultural Affinity", I visited the excavations of this ancient city on the 13th August, 1984. Before going to this site, I acquainted myself with the ancient and present culture of Crimea by a visit to the Regional Museum at Simferepol. Simferepol is situated in the Steppes on the foothills. The city founded about 200 years ago has been the centre of Crimean culture. Its very name in Greek language means the capital city—the meeting point of all roads in Crimea. Mr. Oleg Dombrovsky, the Chief of the Archaeological Department of the Ukrain Academy of Sciences, took me round the hillock where the excavations were carried on under the leadership of Mr. P. N. Shultz from 1945 to 1950. Excavations are now continuing under the guidance of Mr. Oleg Dombrovsky.

It is said that while digging this hillock for the construction of water-works, remains of Neapolis, the capital of the Royal Scythians, were found. These excavations have confirmed the previous findings that Neapolis was a city-fort, and was one of the three fortifications built by the Scythian king Scylurus.

Fragments of the statue of king Scylurus, reliefs of the images of Scylurus and his son Palakus have been found. The city was fortified by a defence wall already in the III century B.C. This wall by its thickness and the material used in its construction provides us with chronological data about the construction periods of this ancient city e.g. in the beginning, the thickness of the wall was only 2 - 2.5 meters and was built from broken stones. The second phase was connected with the reign of Scylurus and his father (II century B.C.) when the southern defence wall was considerably strengthened by an additional coat and achieved a thickness of 6.5 metres. This period concluded at the end of the rule of Scylurus, when after his death, the mausoleum with king's stone tomb was erected. The third construction period is related to the end of II century B.C. to the time of the rule of his son Palakus. The walls of Neapolis at this time, because of the third coat, achieved the maximum thickness of 8.5 metres. The second and third construction periods, thus, relate to the epoch of the prosperity of the state of the last Scythians when Neapolis was turned into a city fort and residence of the Scythian kings was strengthened by increasing the thickness of the wall and construction of towers.

To the I century B.C. relates the coat of the wall showing the time of the weakening of the construction activity of the city after the defeat of the Scythians by Pontic armies and Chersonesians. The fourth and the fifth construction periods, on the contrary, characterise the second strengthening of construction activity (I and II centuries A.D.). The last coat relates to the time of the fall of the city and strengthening of Sarmatian culture of its inhabitants (III-IV centuries A.D.), which had begun considerably earlier. Economic, political and cultural fall of the city in III—IV centuries A.D. reflected in the archaeological monuments, brought its ruin in the IV century A.D. perhaps also connected with the attack of Huns on the Crimea.

Economy, trade and social structure of last Scythians

The basic economy of the last Scythians, including also of the inhabitants of Neapolis, judging from the excavations, was agriculture and cattle-breading. The agriculture, however, played a decisive and main role. Sooner, this city of agriculturists and cattle-breeders became a city of traders and combatants. From the literature, we know about the finds of grains of wheat, barley and oats. The excavation of remnants of straw and stamps of the grain on the bricks dried in the sun from Neapolis show that in addition to the oats and barley, the cultivation of spelt—an inferior kind of wheat,—was also wide-spread. Grains were stored in deep pits.

The grinding of grains was done by millstone-grinders (Greek type) and millstone graters of local type. As distinguished from the Greek rectangular millstone grinders, the Scythians once had usually incorrect outlines. Remains of a pressing device for grapes cut into the rock have also been found. Cast from grape bunches found in the cultural layer permits us to conclude that grapes were grown in the peripheri of the city and the wine-making took place in the city itself.

Judging from the finds of over-whelming quantity of bones of horses, horses played a leading role in the number of cattles: about 38.4 per cent of the total number of cattles. Horse-meat was widely used by the Scythians as food. A part of the population of Neapolis, evidently, consisted of cattle-breeder nomads, changing over to sedentary way of life. Moreover, Neapolis was the city-fort in which horse-regiments and Scythian elite, who owned war horses, were concentrated.

Scythians also produced pottery which is shown by the remnants of brick kilns. The earthenware of Scythian forms made on the wheel, baked in these kilns, were probably produced for export.

Judging from the finds of antique coins in Neapolis, very much worn with signs of long circulation, as also from the minting in Olbia of coins with images of Scythian kings, natural exchange or barter, which continued to dominate with the last Scythians, supplemented the money circulation.

Testimony to the strengthening of the Scythian State is the fact that it comparatively quickly and not once re-established its power, after defeat by Pontic and Chersonesian armies and later by Roman legions and Bosphor armies. This is also testified by the continuity of cultural structure of Neapolis in which we do not see any signs of catastrophic break even in times of war.

Neapolis as centre of culture of last Scythians

The long economic and political development of Scythian tribes on the territory of northern shores of Black Sea, including also Crimea, was accompanied by not only the formation of Scythian nationality but also the flourishing of Scythian culture, entering into a new stage of its development. The culture of the last Scythians, both in the region of lower Dnieper where on its banks came into existence numerous Scythian cities and fortifications forming peculiar western line of defence of the last Scythian State, but, also in the centre of "Minor Scythia" of Strabo i.e. in the Cremea, was in close inter-connection with the ancient civilisation of Greek of northern shores of the Black Sea, particularly Olbia, Chersonsus and Bosphor kingdom. This was clearly evident from the use in the Scythian state of Greek script for memorable inscriptions in the Greek language under the statues and on graves and for dedicative inscriptions and other monuments. But on coins of Scythian kings minted in Olbia along with Greek legends in different cases were used the so-called Scythian-Sarmatian signs, perhaps in the given example, image of the Scythian king, to whom belonged the image.

Cultural heritage left by Scythian tribes in Russia

One of the notable aspects of the culture of the last Scythians, most clearly represented by the monuments of Neapolis, is the doubtless presence in it of the elements which received further development in the culture of the early Slav tribes whose ancestors lived along with the ancestors of the Aryans in the Steppes north of Black Sea. These are peculiarly preserved as remnants in the Russian, Ukrainian and Belorussian folk art. One of such examples is mentioned below :

On the wall of a rock in Neapolis, there is a figure, evidently, of the Goddess with stretched hands with its typical " rays " or horned head-dress. On the left of the Goddess a winged horse or Griffon raising its legs is drawn in that very style. Probably, on the right side, where the painting is lost, an analogic winged horse was also drawn, Evidently there is before us the traditional motive of the Goddess with winged horses on the sides. The rock is dated II-III centuries B.C. A close analogy of this motive is provided by the stamp on the clay baked bricks from Ilurat relating approximately to this very time. Goddess with hands stretched to the sides is drawn on the stamp. A branch of tree is growing from her left hand. Around her head are " rays " or horned head-dress known to us from a rock in Neapolis. On the right side there is a bird. On the sides there are winged horses or Griffons. Further development of this motive in the ancient Slav and Russian folk art is available in the folk embroidery with the Western Slav "Zhivaya" and Eastern Slav " Bereginia" —— Goddesses of nature, earth and fertility. It will, therefore, be seen that the motive which was popular amongst Scythians and Sarmatians received further development amongst the Slav tribes and preserved as a decorative motive in the Russian folk art.

Scythians thus made their contribution in the process of formation of culture of the Slavs and Russian folk art.

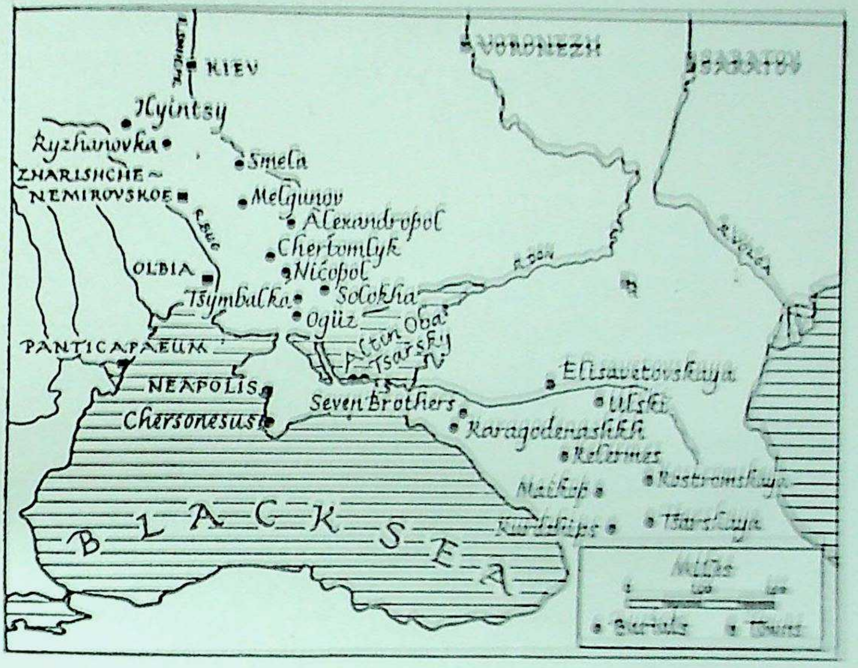

VORONEZH
SARATOV
R. DNIEPR
KIEV
Ilyintsy
Ryzhanovka
Smela
ZHARISHCHE ~
NEMIROVSKOE
R. BUG
Melgunov
Alexandropol
Chertomlyk
Nicopol
OLBIA
Tsymbalka
Solokha
R. DON
R. VOLGA
Ogüz
Altyn Oba
Tsarsky
PANTICAPAEUM
NEAPOLIS
Chersonesus
Seven Brothers
Elisavetovskaya
Ulski
Karagodenashkh
Kelermes
Maikop
Kostromskaya
Kurdzhips
Tsarskaya
BLACK SEA
Miles
0
100
200
Burials
Towns

Fig. 1
Scythian barrows on the north of Black Sea steppes.

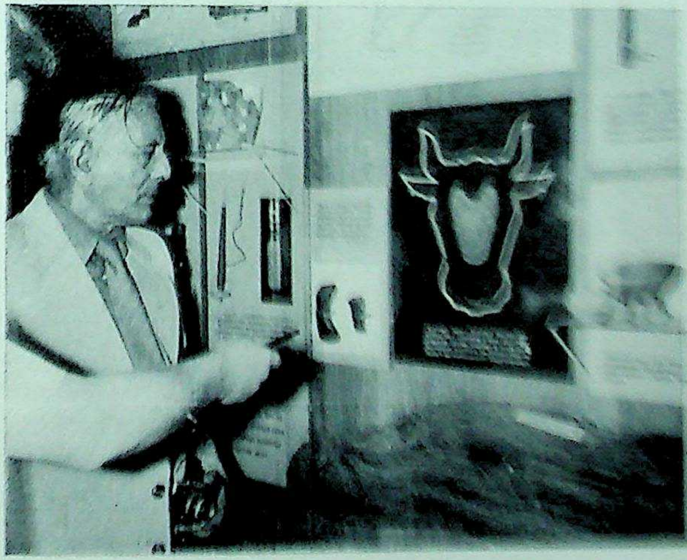


Fig. 2
Mr. Rishi at the Simferepol Regional
Museum of Crimean culture

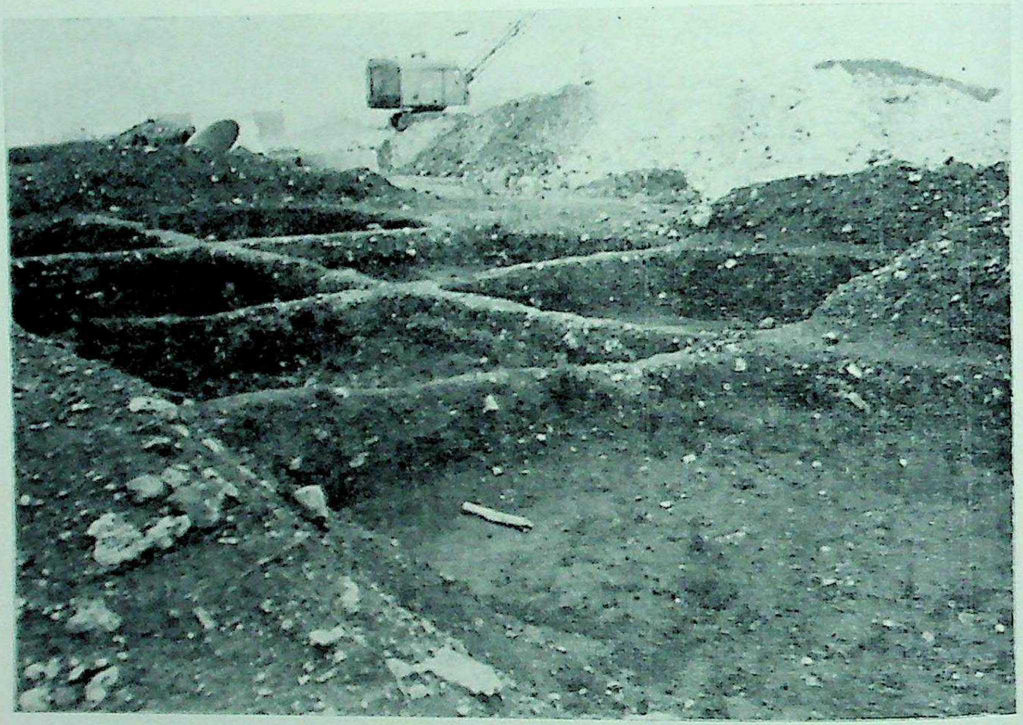


Fig. 3
Neapolis-excavation site.

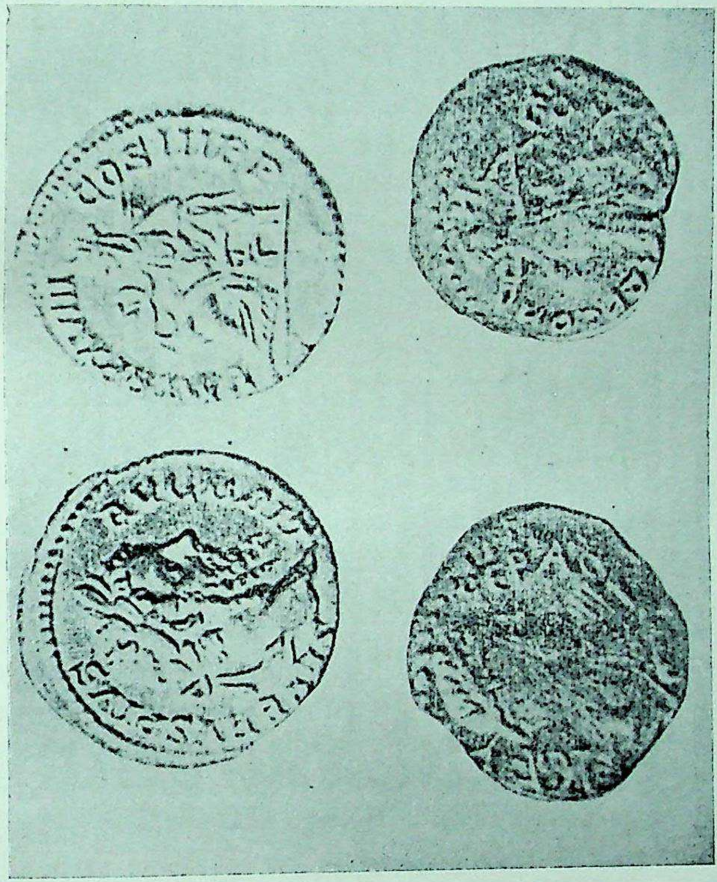


Fig. 4
Coins found at Neapolis

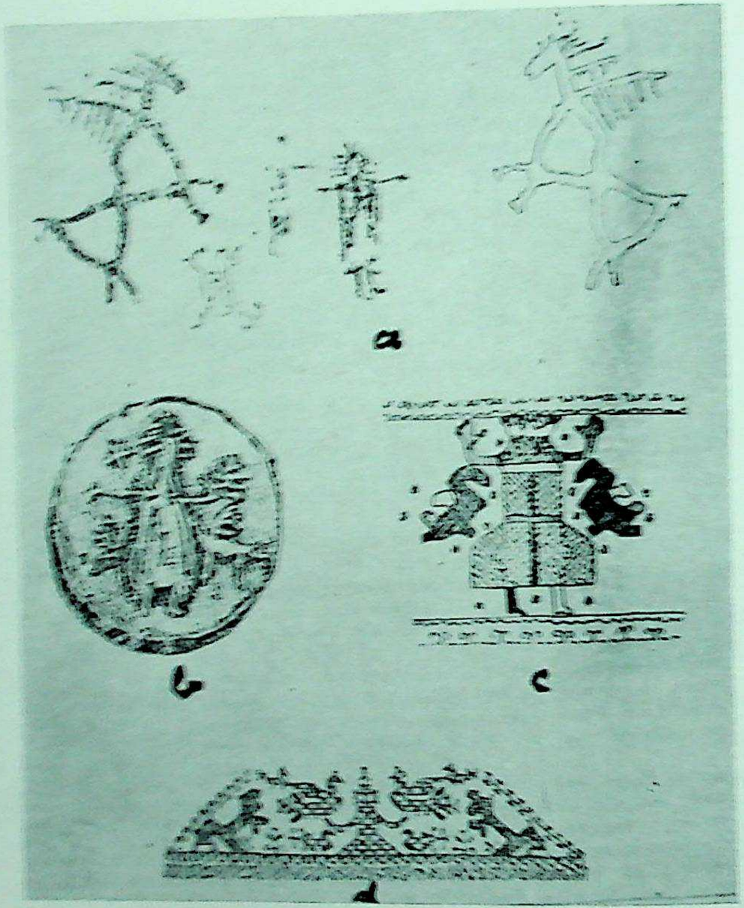


Fig. 5

Motives of Winged horses and Goddess.

(a) Details of drawings from Neapolis [II-III cen. AD]

(b) Clay mound from Ilurat [II-III cen. A.D.]

(c) & (d) Details of Russians Peasants embroidery.

INDIA'S RESPONSE TO SUFISM

By

S. A. H. Abidi *

One of the theories explains Sufism "as the reaction of the Aryan mind against a Semitic religion imposed upon it by force".[1] It may not be its true and full exposition, and at the same time may not be entirely devoid of truth. Joseph Van Hammer finds a great deal of relationship between the Sufis and the ancient gymnosophists, while Dara Shukoh[2] was convinced that the doctrines of Advaita (non-duality) and Sufism are the same with different terminologies. Moreover, Al-Biruni[3] and Dara Shukoh have traced parallels between the Upaniṣads and Sufism. Abu Bahu Shibli believed that Sufism "is the control of the faculties and observance of the breaths",[4] which indicates that the Vedantic philosophy was propounded by the Sufis.

Indo-Iranian Sufism seems to be different from Arab mysticism and orthodox Islam. It is the confluence of Islam and Christianity, Zoroastrianism and Buddhism, Vedantism and Neo-Platonism. In the sixth century A.D., during the reign of the Sassanian King Khusro Anushirvan,[5] the Neo-Platonists founded a school in Iran. Such diverse trends cannot be ruled out as they were in the air and must have made their impact. Thus, Sufism looks to be the product of speculative developments of Islamic monotheism, Christian asceticism and the philosophies of Greece and India. Moreover, early Islamic mysticism meant asceticism, quiseticism, personal love of God and minimisation of formal worship. But later from the ninth century A.D. onward pantheism made its appearance.

Smith writes, "Religiously, the fundamental innovation was the spread of Sufism ... as the Arab period began to weaken, more and more, the Muslim society turned to this somewhat precious version of the faith .... there was development also in interpretation. For example, the greatest of the Sufis,

---

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 35, Nos, 3-4 March-June '86 issue, pp. 317-338

* University of Delhi, Delhi-110 007.

[1] Browne E. G.: *A Literary History of Persia*, Cambridge University Press, 1964, (Vol. I, p. 419).

[2] A. H. 1024-1069/ A.D. 1615-1658.

[3] A.H. 362-431/A.D. 972-1039.

[4] Rumi Jalaluddin p. 27.

[5] A.D. 531-579.

Jalaluddin Rumi, produced his Mathawi a few years after the fall of Baghdad. Non-Arab Islam is stopped in Sufism, and even the Arabs, in post-classical period, infused much that is Sufi in their understanding of the faith."[6] Fazlur Rahman says, "The ulama system did not fail to generate a new and much more far reaching tension within Islam than the nationalism of the Hellonising elements. This was the emergence of Sufism."[7]

Most of the early Sufis like Shaikh Junayd Baghdadi[8] belonged to Iran. Bayasid Bistami[9] was the great grandson of a Majian, while Mansur-i-Hallaj[10], the greatest Sufi of all times, was also the son of a Majian Bayzda (the white castle). Mansur-i-Hallaj had travelled widely and had visited India also. He was put to death in A.H. 309/A.D. 922, during the reign of al-Muqtadir, because he had shouted Anal Haq (I am God).

The Buddhist idols became so popular that Buddha became a synonym of idol. Besides, it found its way into the Persian lexicans, where it is pronounced as but.

The Nava-Vihara at Balkha (Baxtrish) was the great Buddhist temple, where pilgrims used to go from distant places including China. Barmak or Bermecide is the Sanskrit word *Pramukha* (Chief). The well-known Bermecides originally belonged to Kashmir and were the chief priests of the Nava-Vihara. Later, their successors went to Baghdad and became the famous ministers of the Abbasid Calipha. They were largely instrumental in establishing the Academy and in getting Sanskrit and Greek works translated into Arabic. Balkh was the capital of the Bactrian Greek Kingdom and is also associated with the name of Zoroaster.

Among the eminent scholars of Balkh were the astronomer Abu Ma'shar[11] and Abu Zaid.[12] the rival and pupil of al-Kind respectively.

This is to illustrate the impact of several factors on the development of Sufistic philosophy.

---

[6] Smith Wilford Cantwell : *Islam in Modern History*, The New American Library, 1957, p. 42.

[7] Islam (p. 5), Wietenfield and Necholson, London, 1966.

[8] d. A.H. 298/A.D. 911.

[9] A.H. 295-320/A.D. 908-932.

[10] A.H. 295-320/A.D. 908-932.

[11] d. A.H. 272/A.D. 866.

[12] d. A.H. 322/A.D. 943.

Sufism took its deep roots in the land of Balkh. A large number of early Sufis like Abu Ishaq Ibrahim Balkhi,[13] Abu Ali Shaquq Balkhi[14] and Abdur Rahman Balkhi[15] came from there. The greatest Persian poet of India, Hamrat Amir Khuşrau[16] called Tutiy-i-Hind (the Parrot of India) originally belonged to Balkh, while the greatest Sufi poet of Iran, Maulana Jalaluddin Rumi[17] was born there in A.H. 604/A.D. 1207.

With the renaissance of Persian language and literature, a galaxy of great poets like Rudaki,[18] Unsuri,[19] Farrukhi,[20] Minichiri[21] were attached to the royal courts and they generally produced qasidas and showered praises on the kings and nobles. Poets like Firdausi[22] may be taken as exception.

Later on, another group of poets appeared on the literary scene who were more and more dedicated to the cause of moral and spiritual development and who found a new vista in the field of Sufism. Thus, they introduced new traditions and values in Persian literature, retrieving mankind from political and social degration.

It has been correctly said that "the Sufis played important roles in the developments of Persian language and literature". It is also true that "Sufism is the soul of Persian poetry". In the poetry of no other language of the world has mysticism played such an important role as in Persian poetry. In fact, we may go a little further and claim that the poetry of other languages, especially that of Urdu, has also drawn sustenance from mysticism and Sufism.

The first great mystic poet of Iran was Haim Sanai Ghaznawi,[23] who can be justly regarded as the pillar of Persian Sufistic poetry. His greatness has been acknowledged by Rumi when he said :—

عطار روح بود سنائی دو چشم او
ما از پی سنائی و عطار آمدیم

Attar was the spirit and Sana'i its two eyes ;
We came after Sana'i and Attar.

---

[13] d. A.H. 161/A.D. 777.

[14] d. A.H. 173/A.D. 790.

[15] A.H. 651-725/A.D. 1253-1325.

[16] d. A.H. 627/A.D. 1230.

[17] d. A.H. 672/A.D. 1273.

[18] d. A.D. 321/A.D. 933.

[19] d. A.H. 431/A.D. 1040.

[20] d. A.H. 429/A.D. 1036.

[21] d. A.H. 432/A.D. 1041.

[22] d. A.H. 416/A.D. 1025.

[23] d. A.H. 525/A.D. 1131.

The following well-known Buddhist legend of the Blind Men and the Elephant from the *Udāna* has been reproduced by Sanai in his *Hadiqatul-Haqiqat* (Garden of Truth) in an allegorical way :

بود شهری بزرگ درحد غور   و اندر آن شهر مرد مان همه کور
بادشاهی بر آن مکان بگذشت   لشکر آورد و خیمه زد بر دشت
داشت پیلی بزرگ با هیبت   از پی جاه و حشمت و صولت
مرد مان را ز بهر دیدن پیل   آرزو خواست ز انچنان تهویل
چند کور از میان آن کور ان   بر پیل آمدند چون غوران
تا بدانند شکل و صورت پیل   هر یکی تاز یان در آن تعجیل
آمدند و بدست بپسودند   زانکه از چشم بی بصر بودند
هر یکی را به لمس بر عضوی   اطلاع او فتاد بر جزوی
هر یکی صورت محال بست   دل و جان در پی خیال بست
چون بر اهل شهر باز شدند   بر شان دیگر ان فراز شدند
آرزو کرد هر یکی ز ایشان   آنچنان گمر هان و بد کیشان
هیئت و شکل پیل پرسیدند   و آنچه گفتند جمله بشنیدند
آنکه دستش بسوی گوش رسید   دیگری حال پیل ازو پر سید
گفت شکلیست سهمناک عظیم   پهن و صعب و فراخ همچو گلیم
و انکه دستش رسید ذی خرطوم   گفت گشت ست مر مرا معلوم
راست چون ناودان میانه تهیست   سهمناک ست و مایه بتهیست
و انکه را بد ز پیل......   دست و پای سطبر بر بوسش
گفت شکلش چنانکه مضبوطست   راست همچون عمود مخروطست
هر یکی دیده جزوی از اجزا   همگان را نظر فتاده خطا
هیچ را دل ز کلی اگه نی   علم با هیچ کور همره نی
جملگی را خیالهای محال   کرد مانند غتفره بجوابی
او خدائی خلایق آگه نیست   عقل را درین سخن ره نیست

" There was a great city in the county of Ghur, in which all the people were blind. A certain king passed by that place, bringing his army and pitching his camp on the plain. He had a large and magnificent elephant to minister to his pomp and excite awe, and to attack in battle. A desire arose among the people to see this monstrous elephant, and a member of the blind, like fools, visited it, every one running to his haste to find out its shape and form. They came, and being without the sight of their eyes groped about it with their hands; each of them by touching one member obtained a notion of some one part; each one got a conception of an impossible object, and fully believed his fancy true. When they returned to the people of the city, the others gathered round them, all expectant, so misguided and deluded were they. They asked about the appearance and shape of the elephant, and what they told all listened to. One asked him whose hand had come upon its ear about the elephant ; he said. It is a huge formidable object, broad and rough and spreading, like a carpet. And he whose hand had came upon its trunk said, I have found out about it, it is straight and hollow in the middle like a pipe, a terrible thing and an instrument of destruction. And he who had felt the thick and hard legs of the elephant said, As I have it in mind, its form is straight like a planed pillar. Everyone had seen some one of its parts, and all had seen it wrongly. No mind knew the whole-knowledge is never the companion of the blind; and, like fools deceived, fancied absurdities."[24]

This story has been further repeated by Maulana Rumi who drew inspiration from his predecessor. Zehner says, "It is known that Buddhist material passed into Islam in a literary form.. Apart from the various versions of Barlaam and Josaphat, we find the celebrated Buddhist story of the blind men and the elephant....reappearing in Tawhidi and Ghazali and later in Sanai and Jalaluddin Rumi." [25]

Dr. Bhagwan Das concludes his book "*The Essential Unity of All Religions*"[26] with the story of blind men and the elephant given in the [illegible] Rumi. In fact, he considers it as "a complement of the well-known Vedanta story".[27] He further writes, "The Vedanta story is a parable of the correction, by metaphysics, of the different material sciences, each viewing [illegible] the universe of matter. The Sufi story is a parable of the identification, by [illegible] metaphysics, of all religions."[28]

Chronologically Shaikh Fariduddin Attar[29] is the second great [illegible] Iran and forms one of the trio of the great mystics. He has related the story of an Indian sartapak (philosophers) and a crazy Hindu in his [illegible] *Musibatnama* respectively.

Attar has not specifically mentioned Kalila and Dimna. But the stories of the *Pancatantra* were very popular in those times and he must have been inspired by them, while writing his *Mantiqut Tair* (the language of the Birds). According to Margarte Smith "The Phoenix is a wonderful bird which is found in Hindustan"[30] Attar has mentioned Indian birds like parrot and peacock.

The mystic movement especially in literature [illegible] momentum as a result of foreign invasions and insecurity in Iran. It [illegible] been truly said that "In Persia ..... periods of great turmoil and disorder have generally produced the finest poetry, while periods of relative prosperity have generally been singularly barren in this respect."[31]

---

[24] The first book of the *Hadiqatul Haqiqat* (p. 11) which was translated by Major J. Stephenson, Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta, 1910.

[25] Zehner R. C., *Hindu and Muslim Mysticism*, The Athlone Press, [illegible] p. 100.

[26] Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras, [illegible]

[27] p. 276.

[28] p. 276.

[29] d. A.H. 627/A.D. 1230.

[30] *Attar* (p. 5), London, 1932.

The invasion of Changiz Khan[32] and Hulaqu[33] shock the whole Islamic world, while their blood thirsty hordes mercilessly and brutally butchered the inhabitants of towns and villages. According to Browne, "in its suddenness, its devastating destruction, its appalling ferocity, its passionless and purposeless cruelty, its irresistible violence, outburst of savage nomads .... resembles rather some brute cataclysm of the blind forces of nature than a phenomenon of human history."[34]

About twelve and seven lakh people were killed at Khwarazan and Meru respectively, while general massacres were carried on at Bukhara, Samarqand, Balkh, Nusrat-Kuh, Nasa, Utrar, Nishapur, Bamyan, Ray, Qum, Kashan and Iraq-i-Ajam. At Nishapur a pyramid of the skulls of the slain men, women and children was built up. But this very period produced the greatest Sufi poet, Maulana Jalaluddin[35] Rumi, the greatest prose writer, Sadi,[36] and renowned historians and writers like Minhaj Siraj Juzjani,[37] Ata Malik Juwayni[38], Awfi[39] and Khwaji Nasiruddin Tusi.[40]

Rumi is the successor of Sanai and Attar, while his *Mathnavi* is regarded as the Quran in the Persian language :

مثنوی معنوی مولوی   هست قرآن در زبان پهلوی
من چه گویم وصف آن عالی جناب   نیست پیغمبر ولی دارد کتاب

The spiritual *Mathnawi* of the Maulvi is, indeed, a Quran in the Pahlavi (Persian) language. How can I describe the sublimity of that great man? Though not a prophet, he has left a scripture.

The *Mathnavi* of Rumi begins abruptly with the "Song of the Reed", the musical instrument of Lord Kṛṣṇa :

بشنو از نی چون حکایت می کند   ور جدایئها شکایت می کند

---

[31] Browne, E. G. : *A Literary History of Persia*, Vol. II, p. 207.
[32] 603-624 A.H./1206-1227 A.D.
[33] 654-663 A.H./1256-1265 A.D.
[34] *A Literary History of Persia*, Vol. II. p. 427.
[35] d. A.H. 672/A.D. 1273-4.
[36] d. A.H. 691/A.D. 1292.
[37] d. A.H. 698/A.D. 1298.
[38] d. A.H. 681/A.D. 1282.
[39] d. A.H. 635/A.D. 1237
[40] d. A.H. 672/A.D. 1273.

Listen to the reed how it tells a tale Complaining of Separation.

Hawkridge says, " The (love) songs of mystic Persian poets still charm a reader, whether or not he realises that they express, as did the cowheard's wives surrounding Kṛṣṇa with passion, the pains and longings of the soul on the way of God. "[41]

Skanda Purāṇa tells us that " Brahma as sound is the highest Brahma. "[42] Moreover, according to the Vedic text " When a man enjoys grace, flute is played on for him. "[43]

The *Mathnawi* is a collection of number of stories which are from and about India. There is the story of a merchant who took a message from his parrot for the parrots of India. There is also the story of a man who seeing the angel of death went to Soloman and requested him to send him to India to save his life. Besides, many fables have been taken from the Kabila and Dimna, the Arabic and Persian name of the Pancatantra. Beginning a story Rumi Says :[44]

از کلیه باز جو آن قصه را   و اندر آن قصه طلب کن حصه را

Seek the story from Kabila (and Dimna),
And search out the moral (contained) in the story.

There is the story of jackal that fell into the dyeingvat and pretended to be a peacoek, and also the story of the three fishes.

One of the most striking ideas propounded by Runi is his *Mathnawi* is his concept of the law of evolution which he expatiates in the following lines :—

امده اول باقلیم جماد   وز جمادی در نباتی او فتاد
سالها اندر نباتی عمر کرد   وز جمادی یاد ناورد از نبرد
وز نباتی چون بحیوانی فتاد   نامدش حال نباتی هیچ یاد
جز همین میلی که دارد سوی آن   خاصه در وقت بهار..
همچو میل کودکان با مادران   سر میل خود نداند در میان
باز از حیوان سوی انسانیش   می کشد آن خالقی که دانیش
همچنین اقلیم تا اقلیم رفت   تا شد اکنون عاقل و دانا و رفت
عقلهای اولینش یاد نیست   هم ازین عقلش تحول کرد نیست

First man appeared in the class of inorganic things,
Next he passed therefrom into that of plants.

For years he lived as one of the plants,
Remembering nought of his inorganic state so differeet :

---

[41] Hawkridge Emma : *The Wisdom Tree Beston*, 1945 (p. 324).

[42] *Religious Poetry of Surdas*, p. 89.

[43] Ibid., p. 90.

[44] *Mathnawi*, Fourth Daftar, p. 806, Amir Kabir edition 1350, Urdibahishf.

And when he passed from the vegetative to the animal state
He had no remembrance of his state as a plant

Except the inclination he felt to the world of plants,
Especially at the time of spring ands weet flowers :

Like the inclination of infants towards their mothers,
Which know not the cause of their inclination to the breast.

Again the great creator, as you know,
Drew man out of the animal into the human state.

Thus man passed from one order of nature to another.
Till he became wise and knowing and strong as he is now

Of his first souls he has now no remembrance,
And he will be again changed from his present soul.[45]

Dr. Iqbal dealing with this subject says, " It was Jahiz" (d. 255 A.H.) who first hinted as the changes in animal life caused by migrations and environment generally. The association known as the " Brethren of Purity " further amplified the views of Jahiz. Ibn-i-Miskwaih, (d. 421 A.H.) however, was the first Muslim thinker to give a clear and in many respects throughly modern theory of the origin of man. It was only natural and perfectly consistent with the spirit of the Quran, that Rumi regarded the question of immortality as one of biological, evolution, and not a problem to be decided by arguments of a purely metaphysical nature, as some philosophers of Islam thought. The theory of evolution, however, has brought despair and anxiety, instead of hope and enthusiasm for life, to the modern world... The world of today needs a Rumi to create as attitude of hope and to kindle the sire of enthusiasm for life.[46]

But after quoting these lines in full he adds, " The point, however, which has caused much difference of opinion among Muslim philosophy and theologians is whether re-emergence of man involves the re-emergence of his farmer physical medium. Most of them, including Shah Wali Ullah, are inclined to think that it does involve at least some kind of physical medium suitable to the ego's new environment. It seems to me that this view is mainly due to the fact that the ego, as an individual is inconceivable without some kind of local reference or empirical background ".[47]

At another place Dr. Iqbal has again reverted to the same theme and has quoted similar lines from the *Mathnawi*. He says, " The formilation of the theory of evolution in the world of Islam brought into being Rumi's tremendous enthusiasm for the biological future of man. No cultured Muslim can read such passages as the following without a thrill of joy: low in the earth

---

[45] Iqbal M. : *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, Lahore, 1944, p. 168.

[46] Ibid., pp. 167-8.

[47] James W. Forthman, New York, Appletion Century Crafts 1967. Dye William H.—*The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, pp. 168-9.

I lived in the realms of ore and stone:
    And than I smiled in many tinted flowers:
Then roaring with the wild and wandering hours,
O'er earth and air and ocean's zone,
    In a new birth,
I dived and flew,
    And crept and ran,
And all the secrets of my essence drew
    Within a form that brought them all to view—
And lo, a Man
    And then my goal,
Beyond the clouds, beyond the sky,
In realms where some may change or die-
In angel form, and then away
Beyond the bounds of night and day,
And life and death, unseen or seen,
where all that is hath ever been,
And one and whole.

(Rumi: Thadani's Translation ")[48]

The Original Persian lines are also quoted here :

از جمادی مردم و نامی شدم   وز نما مردم بحیوان بر زدم
مردم از حیوانی و آدم سدم   پس چه ترسم کی ز مردن کم شدم
حملهٔ دیگر بمیرم از بشر   تا بر آرم از ملایک پر و سر
وز ملک هم بایدم جستن ز جو   کل شئی هالک الد و جه
باز دیگر از ملک قربان شوم   آنچ اندر و هم ناید آن شوم
پس عدم گردم عدم چون ارطنون   گو یدم که انا الیه را جعون[49]

Other Muslim scholars have also taken note of and given their own interpretation of Rumi's theory of evolution. For example, Ameer Ali says, " The doctrine of evolution and progressive development to which these philosophers adhered .... has been propounded .... by .... = Al-Hasen. All these notions found expression later in the *Mathnawi* of Maulana Jalaluddin.[50]

Sir Mohammad Yasin Khan writes, " In scientific language the Energy of Intelligence in man .... is a superior form of Energy to these forms of Energy called angels. By coming to a body made of matter it gets an opportunity to make further progress by overpowering the energy of temptation ... and this Energy does not return to Earth again in the form of a living creature.[51] Then he quotes these lines of Rumi.

---

[48] *Religions of the World.*

[49] *Mathnawi* Third Deftar.

[50] *The Spirit of Islam*, London, 1946.

However, for the believers in transmigration of soul, it is easy to understand and grasp the contents of such couplets. Dr. Bhagwan Das has also drawn out attention to these lines and has arrived at a definite conclusion. He says, "The Vaidika Doctrine is .... that the soul comes to the stage of man after passing through many lower forms. It does not appear that the Bible and the Quran contain any explicit affirmation of rebirth. But they howhere deny it either ...... there are texts in the Quran which may be interpreted as meaning that man lives and dies repeatedly .... The wellknown lines of Maulana Rumi may be regarded as explicit comment on these texts.[52]

Tamerlane revived the memories of dreadful Mongols and carried fire and sword wherever he went. At his instance, about one lakh and seventy thousand people were killed near Delhi, and at Isfahan a wall of two thousand prisoners was built, at Sistan four thousand Armenians were burried alive, twenty towers of skulls were raised at Aleppo and Damascus, and Baghdad was sacked and destroyed. The period of Tamerlane was full of extreme misery and anarchy. Still, in the words of Browne, "it would be hard to indicate any period of seventy years which produced so many remarkable poets, a galaxy of talent in which the great Hafi's[53] is merely the brightest of many brilliant stars"[54]

Hafiz was thoroughly acquainted with India and her people. He has made mention of this country especially.

Bengal and the beauties of Kshmir :—

شکر شکن شوند هم طوطیان هند
زین قند پارسی کہ بہ بنگالے می رود

All the parrets of India will crack sugar
Through this Persian candy which going to Bengal[55]

ز شعر حافظ شیرازی رقصند و می نازند
سیه چشمان کشمیری و ترکان سمرقندی

The black-eyed beauties of Cashmir and the Turke of Samarqand

---

[51] Shaikh Muhammed Ashraf, *God, Soul and Universe is Science and Islam*, Lahore, 1945.

[52] *The Essential Unity of All Religions*, p. 87,

[53] 726-791 A.H./1325-1380 A.D.

[54] *A Literary History of Persia* Vol. III, p. 207.

[55] Miss Gertrade Lowthian Bell's translation,

Sing and dance to the strains of Hafis of Shiraz's verse.[56]

Most of the great Sufi poets of Iran have been obviously influenced by India, while on their part for seven hundred years they, directly or indirectly, inspired the social cultural and religious movements in this country.

Baba Lal Dayal, a great mystic of the 17th century A.D. and spiritual guide of Prince Dara Shukoh, was the disciple of Chetana Swami, He worshipped one God and believed in Vedānta and mysticism. Dara Shukoh met him in the garden of Jafar Khan and asked him a number of questions on Vedantic and suffistic doctrines. These questions and their answers were written in Persian by Munshi Chander Bhan Brahman[57] and Yadav Das Khattri and are known as *Nadirun Nikat*, *Makhzan-i-Nikat* and *Ghoshti*. Baba Lal Dayal, while answering Dara Shukoh, Baba Lala has quoted a number of lines from Rumi, Hafiz and others. Answering one of the questions, Baba Lala has quoted these lines from the *Mathnawi* of Maulana Rumi. :—

از کلوخ و سنگ یاری می تراش   بک زمان از ذکر او غافل مباش
لنگ لوک و خفتہ شکل ولی ادب   سوی او می غیژ و او را می طلب

Make for yourself an idol of stone and clad. And constantly worship it as you would god Even if you are lame helpless and illiterate with dictorted of act, you should keep on crawling till you attain that heaventy grace.

Answering another question he said, " God exists every where and is found in every community. "[58] Then he recites the following couplet of Hafiz :—

همہ کس طالب یارند چہ هشیار وچہ مست
همہ جاخانۂ عشق ست جہ مسجد چہ کنشت

" Be they sober, be they drunken, All are seekers of the Friend :
Every place the abode of Love is upsque or temple, sea or shore. "[59]

Dara Shukoh asked him the meaning of this line of Hafiz :—

برو ای زاهد خود بین کہ ز چشم من و تو
راز رین پردہ نہا نست و نہان خواهد بود

" Go, proudzealot. For this mystery From time eye and mine is
Hid and hidden, while endureth Time — and — space, shall still be"[60]

and Baba Lal replied, " The religious zealots are self-conceited. Such a zealot cannot reach the stage of a lover because a love does not see himself, but sees only God."[61]

---

[56] *A Literary History of Persia*, Vol. III, P. 283.

[57] d. A.H. 1073/A.D. 1662.

[58] *Asrar-i-Marifat* Urdu translation of Ghoshti, Baba Lal Dayal, Nemani Press, Delhi, 1952 p. 87.

[59] *Jehn Payno*, Vol. I, p. 74.

[60] *Ibid.*, p. 207.

Shah Abdul Latif Bhitani,[62] a great Sindhi poet of the 17th Century A.D. is styled as the Hafiz of Sindhi, Sacha Sarmast,[63] another great Sindhi poet of the 19th century A.D. is also called the Hafiz of Daras. His mystical symbolism of wine and the tavera was also misunderstood by religious fanatics and he was declared heretic.

Sachal was a lover of Attar, and he has praised and portrayed him as the manifestation of God :—

عطار نبود آنکه خدا بود خدا بود
او پاک وجود آنکه خدا بود خدا بود

He was not Attar, because he was God, He was a Pure Being, because he was God, he was God.[64]

امی دلا خوشبو ز شاه عطار در جانم رسید

O heart, fragrance of Shah Attar how penetrated my soul.[65]
Besides, he has acknowledged his spiritual indebtedness to him. Addressing Zaphyr he says :—

Zaphyr ! tell me the touch about Nishapuri.
I sacrifice my soul and body over its dust,
Present this petition of the poor lover in his (Attar's) court :
Pour into my empty cup, wine from thy tavern :
What am I, poor and helpless thou art the fulfiller of my desire.
I have fallen into duality, administer a remedy to me :
Liberate me from the prison of self-conceit.
Solicit from the beloved Attar, who is the tavern keeper
A blessing for yourself, O Ashkar : from that God-man.[66]

Sachal has also expressed his indebtedness to Rumi about whom he says :
If you once become the dust of the feet of kind of Tabri Ali knowledge of Divinity will be revealed to you.
From his poetry the gragrance of intoxination imflitrate my soul,
It makes my imagination surge like the waves of the ocean.

---

[61] *Asrar-i-Marifat*, p. 133.

[62] A.H. 1208/1165/A.D. 1689-1752.

[63] A.D. 1739-1329.

[64] Kalyan Advani : Sachal Sarmast Sahitya Academy, New Delhi, 1971, (p. 2).

[65] Sachal Sarmast, p. 5.

[66] Sachal Sarmast, p. 40.

If one reads Diwan-e-Shamsul Haq with faith,
He will become free from self-conceit I and we.[67]

A turning point in the social history of Bengal was the appearance of Raja Ram Mohan Ray,[68] the founder of the Brahmosamaj (Theistic Church). He know Bengali, Persian, Sanskrit, Greek and Latin. He read the *Quran* in Arabic and also Dara Shukoh's Persian translation of the Upaniṣads. He wrote *Tuhfatul Muwahhidin* (A Gift to Manotheists) in Persian with an Arabic perface. Besides, he edited a Persian newspaper named *Miratul-Akhbar* (Mirror of Intelligence).

Raja Ram Mohan Ray was deeply influenced by Vedānta and the mystic works of Persian Sufis like Rumi and Hafiz, and made a thorough study of Hinduism, Islam and Christianity. Max Muller considers him as " the first man to effect a synthesis of East and West ".[69] Monier William admires him as the first really earnest investigator in the science of comparative theology, which the world has ever produced. "[70]

Iqbal Singh writing about him says, " For him (Raja Ram Mohan Ray) the practical expression of such faith must always be in ethical conduct in dedication to the good of the society—He invokes the words of one of the most enchanting of Sufi poets, Hafiz :—

مباش در پی آزار و هر چه خواهی کن
و در شریعت ما غیر از ین گناهی نسیت

Be not after the injury of any one,
For the rest you may do what you will,
For in our way and conduct
There is no other sin but this (injuring others) "[71]

While discussing diverse religions Raja Ram Mohan Rey is reminded of this line of Hafiz :—

جنگ هفتاد دو ملت همه را عذر بنه
چون ندیدند حقیقت ره افسانه زدند

Marry hold excuse of the wrangles of the two and seventy sects;
For that, when the Trust they saw not, they the door of fiction tried.[72]

---

[67] Sachal Sarmast, p. 45.

[68] A.D. 1772-1833.

[69] Jamuna Nag : *Raja Rammohan Roy*, Sterling Publishers, New Delhi, 1972, p. 26.

[70] *The English Works of Raja Ram Mohan Roy*, p. xv.

[71] *Ram Mohan Roy* Asia Publishing House, 1958, p. 78.

[72] John Payne : *The Poems of Hafis*, London, MDCCI, Vol. II, p. 26.

Raja Ram Mohan Roy was succeeded by Prince Dwarka Nath Thakur[73] and his son Maharshi Devendra Nath Thakur,[74] the father of Gurudev Rabindra Nath Tagore.[75] The Maharṣi was revered by the Muslims, who used to call him Zabardast Molvi (Surpassing scholar). He used to begin his morning with the reading of the Upaniṣads and the Diwan of Hafiz.

In his Autobiography, he has made references to Hafiz profusely and has discovered an identity of ideas between the Upaniṣads and the Diwan of Hafiz. At one place he writes, " I saw in the commentary of the *Svetasvatara Upaniṣad* .... not through riches, not through progeny, not through birth, but through renunciation alone is that immortality to be attained .... I began looking forward to the advent of the month of Āśvina, when I could fly hence, wander about in all places and never return. "[76] Then he, quotes Hafiz :—

تر از کنگرهٔ عرش میزنند صفیر
ندانمت کہ در ین دامگہ چہ افتاده است

" The call has come from the Seventh Heaven. Who knows what works of thine has been impeded by reason of my foolish pursuits in this world. "[77]

About his boat journey to Vārāṇasī he writes, " I hired a boat .... to go ... to Banaras ... the tide of the Ganges set in .. into the boat .... The anchor was weighed, the boat started, and looking up to God I said :—

کشت نشستگانیم ای باد شرطہ بر خیز
باشد کہ باز بینم دیدار آشنارا

" We are now sitting in the boat, arise, O favourable wind. Perhaps we shall again see that friend of ours so well worth seeing ".[78]

Describing his stay at Simla he says, " The raining season now commenced in the Himalayas and God's water-works came into play night and day.... I enjoyed the cold night wind very much indeed.....I spent half the night reciting lyrics and verses of Hafiz ".[79] Then he quotes from the Hindu scriptures, " He who knows Brahma, who drinks the nectar of delight in Brahma, who loves Brahma, he it is that wakes ".[80] He also discovers identical idea in the words of Hafiz :—

---

[73] A.D. 1774-1846.

[74] A.D. 1818-1905.

[75] A.D. 1861-1941.

[76] Autobiography of Maharsi Ravinder Nath Tagore, translated by Surender Nath Tagore and Indra Devi, Calcutta, A D. 1909, p. 105.

[77] Autobiography, p. 105.

[78] Autobiography, p. 102.

[79] Autobiography, p. 133.

[80] Autobiography, p, 133.

یارب آن شمع شب امروز ز کاشانهٔ کیست
جان ما مسوخت بپرسید که جانانهٔ کیست

" There lamp that turns nights into day, in whose chamber is that lamp ? It burnt my life to ashes, to whom has it brought delight ? As I ".[81]

He proceeds further and says, " Those nights in which I felt his intimate companionship, I repeated about in ecstasy :—

گو شمع میارید درین جمع که امشب
در مجلس ما ماه رخ دوست تمام است

" Do not bring a lamp into my audience hall today;
Tonight that full moon my friend is shining here "[82]

Once his life was saved from an accident, to which he refers, " That day my life was saved. But the robber of the world sleeps not....If he does not steal today, he will steal tomorrow ".[83] Then he cites from the Diwan of Hafiz :

اهزن دهر نخفتست مشو ایمن ازو
اگر امروز نبرده است که فردا ببرد

" Time the highwayman never sleepeth. Trust him not, far off He what he, belike, forgotten hath to take today shall carry ".[84]

In the agonies of death Maharṣi asked his followers to sing to him this ghazal of Hafiz :

مرا در منزل جاناچه امن و عیش چون هردم
جرس فریاد می دارد که بربندید محملها
شب تاریک وسیم موج و گردابی چنین هایل
کجا دانند حال ماسبکسار ان ساحلها

" Within life's caravansarai
What brief security have I,
When momently the Bell doth cry,
Bind on your loads, the hour is migh.
A mountain sea, moon clouded O'er,
And High the whirlpool's awful roar—
How can they know our labour sore
Who pass light-burdened on the shore ?

This assimilation carried through the Brahmo Samaj, reached its climax in Gurudev Rabindra Nath Tagore.

---

[81] Autobiography, p. 133.

[82] Autobiography, p. 133.

[83] *Indo-Iranica*, Calcutta, pp. 4-5.

[84] Arberry, A, J. *Fifth Poems of Hafiz*, Cambridge University Press, 1953, pp. 83-84.

Agra is known throughout the world as the city of Taj Mahal. But it is equally or rather more important as a centre of the Radha Swāmi Faith. Swami Maharaj[85], the august founder of this faith, has not only been inspired by the Sufis, he considers them as avatāras (manifestations of God). He enumerates Shama-i-Tabriz.[86] Maulana Rum, Hafiz Sarmad.[87] Mujaddid Alf Thani[88] and others as perfect and true saints (sants), sadhus (holymen) and faqirs. From among the Sufi thinkers, he is chiefly influenced by Rumi and quotes from his *Mathnawi* frequently in his discourses.

The main emphasis of Rumi is on a living spiritual guide, whom he calls murshid (spiritual guide), pir (religious chief), quth (axis), arif (saint), mumin (faithful), Mahram (confidant), wali (holyman), mard-i-khuda (man of God), mard-i-pak (holy man) and banda-i-khuda (servant of God).

Shama-i-Tabriz, a mysterious personality and a wandering sixty year old darvish (religious mendicant), was the mystic preceptor of Rumi, who became entirely changed after his encounter with him.

For Rumi, Shamas-i-Tabriz was a perfect man, and in loving this incarnation of God he loved God. He has expressed his feeling and joy in this way :

حون حدیث روی شمس‌الدین رسید
شمس چارم آسمان سر در کشید

When news arrived of the face of Shamsuddin (the son of the religion), the sun of the fourth heaven drew in its head (hid itself for shama).

The adherents and disciples of Rumi resented the association of the two as scandalous. They accused them of infatuation and even threatened to kill Shams-i-Tabriz. Consequently he fled from Qonia and took refuge in Damascus but was brought back. However, Rumi's intimacy with Shama lasted for about fifteen months and came to an abrupt end in A.H. 644/A.D. 1246. The latter suddenly disappeared or probably met violent death.

Rumi's best lyrics are the result of this shocking reparation. Moreover, he has called his collection of ghazals Divan-i-Shams-i-Tabriz (lyrics of Shams-i-Tabriz). It means that both had lost their separate identities and had became one and the same person. In addition, Rumi, in the midst of immense grief and loss, had instituted Molvi dance and music, which have been strictly prohibited in Islam.

---

[85] Tuli Ram, better known as Shiv Dayal Sahib (A.D. 1818-1878).

[86] d. A.H. 645/A.D. 1247.

[87] d. A.H, 1072/A,D. 1661.

[88] A.H. 971-1034/A.D. 1563-1624.

The chief characteristic of the Radha Swami Faith is the search and worship of a living spiritual guide, whom they call Sant Guru (holy precepter) or murshid and perfect faqir,

Swamiji Maharaj believed that the devotees should have faith in bygone sants only as long as they do not meet the perfect guru of the time. But when they meet him, they should, like a faithful wife, accept him as all who is " the incarnation of the Supreme Father Radha Swami Dayal and not put faith in anyone else."

According to him a seeker after truth should consistently search for a perfect living and spiritual *guru* (guide) and should consider him as an embodiment of God and all the preceeding *avatāras* (manifestations of God), and *devatās* (godheads), prophets, *mahātmās* (supreme spirits) and santas (saints). If one has met a perfect faqir, he has seen the Almighty God, as there is no difference between the two. Then he quotes Rumi to strengthen his point :

چونکه کردی ذات مرشد را قبول
هم خدا در ذاتش آمد هم رسول

If you accept some one to be your spiritual guide.
You will find him an embodiment of God and the Prophet.

One cannot see the Supreme Being in a mosque or temple, but only in the perfect and true spiritual guide. He further elaborates his faith by quoting the following couplet of Rumi :—

مسجدی هست اندرون اولیا
سجده گاه جمله هست آنجا خدا

The heart of saints is a veritable mosque.
Where all mankind can worship God.

And further quotes the following :—

گفت پیغمبر که حق فرموده است
من نگنجم هیچ در بالا و پست
در دل مومن بگنجم این عجب
گر مرا خواهی از آن دلها طلب

According to the Prophet, God has said.
No place, high or low, can accommodate me.
Surprisingly I reside in the hearts of the faithful ;
If you want me, seek me in those hearts.

Huzur Maharaj,[89] the second Sant Satguru, completed his education in Persian and thoroughly studied the *Mathnawi* of Maulana Rumi. Subsequently he translated a book on astronomy into Persian.

---

[89] Rai Bahadur Sahiz Ram Sahab (A.D. 1829-1898).

In July, 1857, it was rumoured that if the rebel Indian soldiers entered Agra, Britishers would bombard the city from the fort. Huzur's house in Pipalmandi was near the fort. Naturally the people advised him to move to a safer place. Huzur took the following omen from the Diwan of Hafis and did not leave his residence :—

" are perturbed at the calamity of the world.
What safeguards have adopted against the calamities
of death ? Who is going to protect you then ?[90]

Swami Ram Tirth was a great mystic and the poet monk of the Punjab. He was born in (A.H. 1290/A.D. 1873) and was drowned in the Ganges in (A.H. 1324/A.D. 1906) at the age of thirty three. Dr. Iqbal has paid tribute to him in the following lines :

هم بغل دریاسے هے ای قطرهٔ بیتاب تو
پهلے گوهر تها بنا اب گوهر نایاب تو
آه کهولا کس اداسے تونے راز رنگ و بو
میں ابهی تک هوں اسیر امتیاز رنگ و بو

O restless drop of water, you are merged in the river :
Formerly you were a pearl, now you have become a unique jewel.
How marvelously you have probed the mysteries of the varieties (colour and smell of this life).
While I am yet struggling in its mashes).

However, swami Ram Tirath not only attached to Hinduism, Judaism, Christanity and Islam, rather all these faiths have become part of his being. He used to say, " Krishna I am, Muhammad I am, hear then freely.[91] If he was Fully familiar with the authors of the Upaniṣads, western thinkers, Kabir and Nanak, he was equally acquainted with Attar and Hafiz, Sahma-i-Tabria and Rumi. He concludes one of his lectures with the description of Shama-i-Tabria and says, " Now Rama will conclude by relating to you the life of one the greatest in the world.... Shama-i-Tabria is his name.[92]

He was well versed in Arabic, Persian and other Indian and foreign languages and used to compose verses in Urdu. He studied *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* a great treatise on Advaita (Nonduality) Vedānta, through its Persian translation. Moreover, he used to quote in his letters and discourses verses from Rumi and Hafiz. Writing a letter to Pandit Ram Dhan, he begins with

---

[90] *Souvenir Commemoration of the First Centenary of the Radha Swami* Satsang, Dayalbagh, Agra, 1962, Vol. IV. P. 37.

[91] *In woods of God Realisation*, Ram Tirtha Publication League, Lucknow, 1947.

[92] *In Woods of God Realisation* Vol. IV, p. 169.

صبا بہ لطف بگو آن غزال رعنارا   کہ سربکوه بیابان تو داده ای مارا

Go, friendly zephyr, whispring greet your gentle fawnwith lender feet, Say that in quest of her I rove The dangerous steeps, the wilds of love.[93]

Daulandas, the disciple of Jagjivandas, has assimilated the teachings of Mansur, Shams-i-Tabria and Hafiz in his poems.[94]

Mehr Baba was born at Poona in A.D. 1894 and died in A.D. 1969. Mahatama Gandhi came in close contact with him. In his letter to Dadachanji he wrote, " I suggested to Baba that he should come out of the spell of English . . write and explain his ideas in Gujarati . . . . or in Persian which, he says.

> he knows well, Yes, I would containly translated into
> Gujarati any of his writings which deeply appeal to me.
> In short, I am a student of Baba's ideas "[95]

However, Mehr Baba was attached to Hafiz, under whose inspiration he wrote a number of poems in Urdu, Persian, Hindustani, Gujarati and English. According to him no body can reach the truth or God without a murshid or perfect master, for which he has quoted from Hafiz :—

> Without the guidance of Perfect Master, do not
> enter the path of love. I have failed hundreds
> of times while doing so by self-help. "[96]

He further asserts that the lover of God is indifferent to Heaven and Hell, and supports his remarks with these words of Hafiz :—

> Inasmuch as I want my beloved in both the worlds,
> what do I care for either heaven or hell and houries
> and slaves therein. "

Dr. Iqbal,[97] the gratest Urdu and Persian poet of the twentieth century, calls himself an Indian disciple (Murid-i-Hindi) of Rumi and says :—

مرا. بنگر کہ در هندوستان دیگر نمی بینی
برهمن زاداه ای رمز آشنای روم و تبر یزم

Look at me, for in India you will not see again
A Brahmin by descent familiar with the secrets of Rumi and Tabriz.

---

[93] Translation by J. Nett (Fifty Poems of Hafiz, p. 86)

[94] Tara Chand : *Influences of Islam on Indian Culture*, Indian Prees, Allahabad, 1954. p. 207.

[95] *The Colleted Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, Vol. 4, p. 223.

[96] Purdam C.B. : *The Perfect Master*, London, 1937, p. 49.

[97] *The Perfect*, p.

Rumi was to Iqbal as Virgil was to Danto: It is said that Rumi met him in a vision and asked him to sing. Abdul Wahid writes, " Iqbal was, perhaps, that first great writer of repute to interpret Rumi correctly. "[98]

In the Javed Nama, Iqbal goes to different planets in the company of Rumi. There he meets great personalities like Mansur-i-Hallaj, Nasir Khusro,[99] Tahira, Syed Ali Hamadani, Ghani Kashmiri,[100] Jahan Dost (Lover of Creation), a Hindu sage, Bhartṛhari, Ghalib, Jamaluddin Afghani, Said Halim Pasha, and learns truth. He also comes across the tablats of Buddha, Zoroaster, Christ and Muhhammad.

Rumi and Iqbal both believe in Perfect Man (Insan-i-Kamil), greatest force of love and survival of personality. Neither of these believe in the annihilation of the individual.

Iqbal has acknowledged the enchanting magic of Hafiz also :—

خون رگ معمار کی گرمی سے ہے تعمیر
میخانۂ حافظ ہو کہ بتخانۂ بہزاد

From the warmth of the mason's arterry an edifice is erected,

Whether this be the tavern of Hafiz or the idol temple of Behzad,

He used to reproduce his beauty, elegance and flow, and has written after his model.

Once he told Khalifa Abdul Hakim, " Some times I feel that the spirit of Hafiz has entered my body ".[101] But at the same time, he has warned people against his spell :—

هوشیار از حافظ صهبا گسار　　جانش از زهر امل سرمایه دار
نیست غیر از باده در بازار او　　از دو جام آشفته شد دستار او
نغمهٔ چنگش دلیل انحطاط　　هاتف از جبرئیل انحطاط
بی نیاز از محفل حافظ گذر　　الحذر از گوسفندان الحذر

Beware of Hafiz, who has given himself to wine drinking :

His vital spirit is effected by the venom of lust and desire, which has become his stock of trade.

There is nothing but wine in his market :
Only two cups were enough to disturb his head-dress.
The melodic noted omitted by his harp is a proof of decadance :
His invisible voice is a falling angel Gabrial.

---

[98] Iqbal, p. 68.

[99] d. A.H. 481/A.D. 1088

[100] d. A.H. 1079/A.D. 1668

[101] Khan Yusuf Husain : *Hafiz aur Iqbal*, Galib Academy, New Delhi, 1976, pp. 11, 12.

Be indifferent and pass out of the society of Hafiz :
Beware of the sheeps and rams and have care.

Dr. Yusuf Husain Khan writes, Iqbal thought that the captivating poetry of Hafiz is a negation of hard life and its struggle. Besides, his proaching of free life, resignation and acquiescence would paralyse the practical integrity of of the Muslims.[102]

The first volume comprising a selection of English poems of Sir Nizamat Jung, was published in 1951, with a foreward by Lord Wavell. In 1952 his sonets also appeared in London with an introduction by Lord Hailey. Later in 1954 Mr. Zahir Ahmad brought out Sir Nizamat Jung's published and unpublished poems in a single volume.[103]

In the first part, while dedicating " A Breath of Persian Poetry " to the memory of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, to whom he refers as " A lifelong friend ", Sir Nizamat Jung writes, " Once wrote to me : Have you never felt the call of the blood ". You have the ecstasy of Hafiz.... and of Rumi.... as the inheritance of your race.[104]

In this part under the caption. " The Vision of Hafiz ", the poet says :—

Still in fair Shiras blooms the raze,
Where Rukni's murmuring water flows :
Musalla's bowers recall the hours,
When beauty smiles on love's soft voes.
Though violets sigh into the air,
Kissed by the glancing star beams fair,
yet fairer far than flower or star,
The poet's soul that lingers there.[105]

For his " Sonnets of poetry and places ", Nizamat Jung has chosen Hafiz and Mahatama Gandhi, about whom he says :—

To prove the Power by which the spirit soars
Above life's fills to claim the victor's need
Made strong by faith and from freed—
A task by prophets honoured —— it was yours ".[106]

The late principal Thadani has translated a number of select places of the great Persian poets into English verse. He writes in the introduction, " The poems.. . are.... intended to recreate the spirit of each master ... in a new way.... The range is a wide one, including the .... mystic musing of Rumi, the silver notes of Khosrou, and the anguished ecstasy of Hafiz, the greatest lyrist of all.[107]

---

[102] *Hafiz aur Iqbal*, p. 12.
[103] Zahir Ahmad, *Poems of Sir Nizamat Jung*, Hyderabad, 1954.
[104] *Poems of Nir Nizamat Jung*, p. 42.
[105] PP. 44-45.
[106] P. 393.

The late Mr. Sajjad Zaheer has written a valuable book named "*Zakr-i-Hafiz*".[108] Besides, he delivered a number of lectures under the title "The Genius of Hafiz". In the course of these lectures he said, "Haflz was, of course, a good Muslim and has impressed this again and again .... and yet a close study of his Diwan would reveal to us the fact that his interpretation of Islam as well as the prevalent Sufli doctrine ahdatul had really made him in his belief what might be called humanism today.[109]

In the Rampur Anthology, dedicated to the late H. H. Naval Raza Ali Khan, J. A. Chapman has rendered in English the quatrains of Umar Khayyam, Hafiz, Ghalib and Hall, the odes of Amir Khusrou, Hafiz and Ghalib and the fragments of Sadi and Hafiz. Besides, he has published the English translation of the poems of Chitaranjan Das.

---

[107] Thadani N. V. : *The Garden of the East*, Bharat Publishing House, Karachi, 1932.

[108] Anjuman Taraqqi Urdu, Aligarh, 1956.

[109] Oxford University Press, 1946.

SELECT CONTENTS OF ORIENTAL JOURNALS

By

P. H. JOSHI*

Aligarh Journal of the Oriental Studies, Viveka Publications, 3/364, Samad Road, Aligarh 202001 (U.P.)

Vol. 1, No. 2, Autumn 1984

Sharma, Umesh Chandra : The Legend of Trasadasyu
Shukla S. N. : Man in the Veda and Avesta
Harsh Narain : Evolution of Non-Being as a Vaiśeṣika Category
Hino, Shoun : Sureśvara's Criticism of Bhartṛprapañca's View of Liberation
Tripathi, Reva Prasad : The Problem of Reconstructing Kālidāsa's Texts

Bhāratī, Bulletin of the College of Indology, Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi, 221005

No. 15, 1971-84

Professor R. B. Pandey Volume

Sircar, D. C. : The Date of Dharmamāṇikya and His Relations with Ratnamāṇikya

Dikshit, R. K. : Gopāla the Saviour of the Candellas
Shastri, Ajaymitra : Amaruśataka kī Sāmskṛtika Pṛṣṭhabhūmi (Hindi)
Goyal, S. R. ; Rājasthan—The Original Home of the Later Guptas
Harsh Ṇarain : The Structure of Hindu Thought
Sharma Shastri, Ram Murti : Modern Monism and the Vedānta of Śaṅkara
Singh, Mahendra Pratap : The Brāhmaṇas in Early Mediaeval India
Pandeya, Dinbandhu : Amoghavarṣa Prathama (Cir. 814-80 A.D.)
Misra, R. N. : Banaras Yakṣa Legends and the Rajghat Image.
Mishra, S. M. : A Note on the Title of Vākpati's Poem Gauḍavaho and the Identification of the King of Gauḍa

---

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 35, Nos. 3-4, March-June '86 issue, pp. 339-349

* Oriental Institute, M. S. University of Baroda, Baroda.

Sharma, B. N. : Aparājitā
Tripathi, Harihar Nath : The Source of State Power in Ancient India
Mujumdar, R. C. : Muslim View of Hindu Culture
Bhardwaj, H. C. : Harappan's Experiments in Glass Making
Varma, T. P. : The Temples of Banaras
Singh, Harihar : Jaina Temples of Western India
Mishra, Teja Narayan : Prācīna Bhāratīya Iṭeṁ-Eka Sarvekṣaṇa (Hindi)
Sinha, Kirankumari : Bhāsa ke Nāṭakoṁ meṁ Nārī evam Nārī-Ādarśa (Hindi)
Tripathi, L. K. : Early Pratīhāra Temples of Osian
Tripathi, Maya Prasad : Mountaineering in Ancient India
Chattopadhyoy, Aparna : Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Political Thought

Bulletin of the Chunilal Gandhi, Vidyabhavan, Chunilal Gandhi Vidyabhavan, Sarvajanik Education Society, Athva Lines, Surat

No. 29, March 1986 (1985-86)

Bhayani, H. C : About the Dhruvas in Kālidāsa's Vikramorvaśīya
Nanavati, R. I. : Poetic Form in Kuntaka and Abhinava
Desai, S. K. : Reform Movement in the 10th Century Gujarat—The Role of Narmad
Thakore, Ajay : Ruyyaka—Śobhākara—Jayaratha—Eka Vilakṣaṇa Vivāda-cakra (Gujarati)
Patel, V. S. : Bhavabhūtinā Mahāvīracaritamāṁ Rājanītī (Gujarati)

Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Institute, Pune 411006

Vol. 43, 1984

Deo, S. B. : The Genesis of Maharashtra History and Culture
Dhongde, R. U. : A Dictionary of Marathi Synonyms—Methodological Problems
Klejn, L. : The Coming of Aryans—Who and Whence !
Rajendran, S. : Correlative Lexicology of Tamil and Hindi—A Proposal
Sankalia, H. D. : The Development of Archaeology in the Indian Sub-continent

Glory of India, Motilal Banarasidass, Bunglow Road, Jawaharnagar, Delhi-110007

Vol. VII, Nos. 1-4, 1983

Frawley, David : Rebirth in the Rigveda
Wallach, Wendall : The Enquiring Mind

Hegde, R. D. : Bhāvivikta and His Metaphysical Objectivism
O'nell, Kevin R. : An Exploration of Mādhyamaka Doctrine

Jain Journal, A Quarterly on Jainology, Jain Bhawan, P. 25, Kalkar Street, Calcutta 7

Vol. XXI, No. 1, July 1986

Muni Nandighoshavijay ; Some References to Human Physiology in Jaina Scriptures

Satyavrata : Nayacandra Sūri—A Literary Profile
Ekambaranathan, A. : New Light on the Cola Epigraphs from Chittamur
Lishk, Sajjan Singh : On Five Circular Parts of Jambudvīpa
Nair, U. G. : Kodungallur Bhagavati

No. 2, October 1986

Jain, M. K. : A Demographic Analysis on Jainas in India
Aquique, Md. : Mithila—The Heart of Jainism
Nair, V. G. : Kodungaliur Bhagavati
Sinha, Ajoy Kumar : An Unpublished Aṣṭa-Maṅgala Paṭṭa at Bhagalpur

No. 3, January 1987

Shastri, Yajneshwar S. : Reconciliation of Different Philosophical View Points —An Attempt Made by Jaina Philosophers
Sarma, Sreeramula Rajeshwara : Thakkura Pheru and the Popularisation of Science in India in the Forurteenth Century

Lishk, S. S. : Main Characterstics and Achievements of Jaina School of Ancient Indian Astronomy

Sinha, Ajoykumar : Four Pañca-tīrthikas from Bhagalpur

Journal of Indian Philosophy, D. Reidel Publishing Company, Dordrecht & Boston

Vol. 14, No. 2, June 1986

Bhattacharya, Sibajiban : Viṣayatāvāda of Gadādhara Bhaṭṭācārya (Intro.)
Sjoman, N. E. : The Memory Eye—An Examination of Memory in Traditional Knowledge Systems

No. 3, Sept. 1986

Bhattacharya; Sibajiban : Viṣayatāvāda of Gadādhara Bhaṭṭācārya (Intro-Cont.)

No. 4, Dec. 1986

Ames, William L. : Buddhapālita's Exposition of the Mādhyamaka

Goldman, Robert P.: The Serpent and the Rope on Stage—Popular, Litarary and Philosophical Representation of Reality in Traditional India

Sawai, Yoshitsugu: Śaṅkara's Theory of Sannyāsa

Journal of the Asiatic Society, Asiatic Society, 1 Park Street, Calcutta 700 016

Vol. XXVIII, No 1, 1986

Sen, Prabat Kumar: Some Problems Regarding Udayananirākaraṇa

Chakravarty, Arindam: Understanding Falsehoods—A Note on the Nyāya Concept of Yogyatā

Bhattacharya, Gopikamohan: Gaṅgeśa on Kevalānvayi Inference

Kar, Minati: The Three Planes of Consciousness

Lokesh Chandra: Cultural Contacts of Indonesia and Śri Lanka in the Eighth Century and Their Bearing on the Barabudur

Ghosal, S. N.: Taxila Silver Scroll Inscription of a Kushāṇa King-Year 136

Sharma, P. V.: Medicinal Plants in the Yogasaṁagraha (Rājamārtaṇḍa) of Bhoja

Bhaduri, Nrisinha Prasad: A New Commentary —Guṇavati and Act V of the Prabodhacandrodaya

Bhattacharya, Bhabani Prasad: Relevance of Sanskrit Studies in Modern India with Special Reference to Cultural Studies

Bhattacharya, Dipak: On the Decline of Sanskrit Education Systems

No. 2, 1986

Sarkar, H. B.: The Tavur Ekādaśa-Rudra —An Unpublished MS. from Bali (Indonesia) on the Eleven Rudras

Dwivedi, R. C.: Concept of the Śāstra

Levill, Stephen Hillyer: Some Yantras from Śrī Lanka

Satyavati, S. K.: Authorship of Paramānanda Kāvya

Ghosal, S. N.; On Some Instances of Epenthesis in Prākrit

Bhattacharya, Ramkrishna: Was Kṛṣṇamiśra A Man of Rāḍha ?

Kaviraj Shyamal Das: The Antiquity, Authenticity and Genuineness of the Epic Called the Prithī Rāj Rāsā and Commonly Ascribed to Chand Bardai (Eng. Tr. by Munshi Ram Prasad from Hindi)

No. 3, 1986

Thakur, Upendra: Indian Monk-painters in China

Brockington, J. L.: Textual Studies in Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa

Sarkar, Himansu Kumar: The Last Pāla Capital

Ghosal, S. N. : A Recently Noticed Inscription of the Time of Gondophares

The Journal of the Bihar Research Society, Bihar Research Society, Museum Buildings, Patna, 800001 (Bihar)

Vol. LXV—LXVI, Parts I-IV, Jan.-Dec., 1979-80

Verma, Vishwanath Prasad : The Political Concepts and Empirical Analysis in the Mahābhārata

Singh, Purushottam : Early Historical Archaeology of Uttara Pradesh—Recent Discoveries

Singh, Rajeshwar Prasad : The Concepts of Varṇa and Jāti in Early Indian Social Hierarchy

Nath, Vijay : Dāna in the Context of Commerce and Urbanisation in Kuṣāṇa Times

Sohoni, S. V. : Recent Data on Gupta and Post-Gupta History

Chaudhari, Radhakrishna : China, Tibet, Nepal and the Capital of Tirabhukti (647-702 A.D.)

Muzumdar, B. P. : Industries and Internal Trade in Early Mediaeval North India

Panda, Shishir Kumar : Orrisa—Its Geography and Patterns of Settlements under the Later Eastern Gangas A.D. 1088-1434

Thakur, Upendra ; The Mahābhārata in South-East Asia

Yadava, A. L. : Agricultural Implements and Technique in the Gupta Period

Aquique, Mohammad : A Note on Ancient Indian Dietary Habits (from the earliest times to c. 647 A.D)

Masih, Y. : The Contemporary Significance of Niṣkāma Karma—Is it Possible ?

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Oriental Institute, M. S. University of Baroda, Baroda

Vol. XXXV. No. 1-2, Sept.-Dec. 1985

Cholkar, V. B. ; The Physics of Gāyatrī Mantra

Bandyopadhyay, Dhirendranath : A Critical Study on the Source-Element of the Meghadūta of Kālidāsa

Satya Vrat : Observations on Some Variants in Kādambarī

Ramana, M. V. : The Title Kirātārjunīyam—A Literary Appraisal

Shukla, Chitra : Three One-Act Plays of Ghanaśyāma

Glucklich, Ariel : Karma and Pollution in the Dharmaśāstra

Shastri, Y. S. : Conception of Nirvāṇa in Asaṅga's Vijñānavāda Buddhism

Vijaya Rani and Goyal, V. K. : A Study of the Wave Theory of Sound & Light (on the basis of Ancient Indian Thought and Modern Physics)

Joseph, P. M. : Buddhism in Kerala

Krishan, Y. : The Doctrine of Karma and God

Sharma, Hari Dutt : Soul of the Poetry—A New Approach

Sandesara, B. J. : A fourteenth Century Sanskrit Inscription from Aṇahilavāḍa Pāṭaṇa, North Gujarat

Mirashi, V. V. : Further Light on the Risthal Stone Inscription of Prakāśadharman

[*The*] *Mysore Orientalist, Oriental Research Institute, University of Mysore, Mysore 570005*

Vol. XIV

Dr. G. Marulasiddaiah Commemmoration Volume

Wakankar, S. Y. : A Litter-known Lexicon (Nighaṇṭu) from the South

Devasthali, G. V. : Attitude of Sāyaṇa and Mādhava towards Śākalya and Yāska (A Comparative View)

Joshi, S. D. : The Text of the Nyāyabhāṣya on the Nyāyasūtra 1.1.5.

Janaki, S. S. : Some Sanskrit Writers in the Hoyasala Period

Unni N. P. : Identification of the River Muralā/Muraci

Shreelakshmi, B. G. : Laukika Nyāyas or Popular Maxims in Sanskrit

Rajendran, C. : The Concept of Heterocosms in Sanskrit Poetics

Moghe, S. G. : Ṛṣyaśṛṅga Smṛti—Restored

Kulkarni, B. B. : Jaina Kathā Literature

Paradkar, M. D. : MM. P. V. Kane on Muhūrtaśāstra and Astrology.

Sharma, Arvind ; The Concept of Apavarga in Nyāyavaiśeṣika and Prof. M. Hiriyanna's Contribution to Its Understanding

Shastri, P. S. : A New Dimension of Naiṣadhīyacarita (Cont.)

Hegde, R. D. : Indentity of Udbhaṭa and His Infinity Theory of Epistemological Proofs

Janaki, A. : Comparative Study of the Criticism of the Verse " Kṣīpto Hastāvalagnaḥ "....etc.

Shivaramaiah, B. K. : The Dramatic Relevance of the VI Act of Kālidāsa's Śākuntala

Unithiri, N. V. P. : Haṁsasandeśa of Pūrṇasarasvatī

Man in India, Bharatiya Bhasha Mudranalaya, Chetganj, Varanasi

Vol. 66, No. 3, September 1986

Baidyanath Saraswati : Thinking about Traditions

Sharma, Arvind : Manu on the Determinants of Caste
Nayak, Nirmala : Man and the Moral Order in the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa

Our Heritage, Bulletin of the Deptt. of Post-graduate Training and Research, Sanskrit College, Calcutta

Vol. XXXI, Part II, July-Dec. 1983

Sharma, Arvind : A Note on Akurvata in Bhagavadgītā I. 1.
Chaudhuri, Binayendra Nath : Buddhist Culture in Tibet
Ghosh Abhijit : Treatment of Nipātas in the Nirukta
Chatterji, Sunitikumar : Saṃskṛta Dig-vijaya
Mukhopadhyay, Bijayanath : Administration of Manuscript Libraries with Special Reference to Sanskrit

Vol. XXXII, Part I. Jan.-June 1984

Ramana, M. V. : Definitions of Kāvya in Sanskrit Poetics and the Concept of Mahākāvya
Bhattacharya, Pt. Bhutesh Chandra : Smṛti-prāmāṇya-samīkṣā (Bengali)
Pt. Hemanta Kumar : Māghakavis Tatkāvyañ ca (Bengali)
Ramanujatatacharya, N. S. : Mīmāṁsāśāstrasaṁmata Śābdabodhaprakriyā and Rāmānujamatānusāreṇa Buddhitattvasya Vivecanam (Sanskrit)
Chattopadhyaya, Madhumita : Frege on Subjective Idealism—An Unexplored Argument
Chatterji. Suniti Kumar : Saṃskṛta Dig-vijaya (cont.)
Mukhopadhyaya, Bijayanath : Adminitration of Manuscript Libraries with Special Reference to Sanskrit

Part II, July-Dec. 1984

Goswami, Sitanath : Textual Reading and Interpretation of a Śloka—'Diṣṭyā Śakuntalā Sādhvī' etc. (Abh. Sa 7.29)
Hemanta Kumar : Māghakavis Tatkāvyañ ca
Chatterji, Suniti Kumar : Saṃskṛta Dig-vijaya
Mukhopadhyaya, Bijayanath : Administration of Manuscript Libraries with Special Reference to Sanskrit
Luders, Heinreich : Fragments of Buddhist Drama
Majumdar, Paresh Chandra : Studies in the Eastern Aryan Languages

Vol. XXXIII, Part 1, Jan-June 1985

Chakravarty, Himanshu Narayan : Kālidāsa's Poetry and Poetic Ideals
Chaudhuri, Sukomala : Literary Excellence of the Jinacarita—A Kāvya in Pāli

Pf. Hemanta Kumar : Māghakavis Tatkāvyañ ca

Chatterji, Suniti Kumar : Saṁskṛta Dig-vijaya

Makhopadhyaya, Bijayanath : Administration of Manuscript Libraries with Special Reference to Sanskrit

Mazumdar, Paresh Chandra : Studies in the Eastern Aryan Languages

Panjab University Research Bulletin, (Arts), Panjab University, Chandigarh

Vol. XVII, No. 2, Oct. 1986

Sharma, D. D. : Manifestation of Social Hierarchy and Caste Identity through Linguistic Behaviour

Chandel, Bhuvan : The Concept of Agathon in Greek Epistemology—Reconsidered

Kapoor, Veena : An Interpretation of Action in the Bhagavadgītā

Handa, Devendra : A Pratihāra Doorway from Pehowa

Sangar, S. P. : People's Vocations in Moghal India

Sangar, Pramod : English Trade and the Mughal Emperors 1556-1707.

Purāṇa All India Kashiraj Trust, Fort, Ramnagar, Varanasi

Vol. XXVIII, No. 2, July 1986

Dandekar, R. N. : Gleanings from the Śiva-purāṇa II

Parrett, Valerie & Parrett, Roy W. : Cosmogony in the Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa

Shankarnarayanan, S. : The Purāṇic Text and the Date of the Mahābhārata War—A Historical and Archaeological Approach

Lallanji Gopal : Bhaviṣya-purāṇa, Brāhmaparvan chapters 40-44.

Bhattacharya, Ramshankar : An Enigmatic Description of Kathā in the Skandapurāṇa

Jena, S : A Critical Analysis of 1st Abschustt Text-Group 1 of the Purāṇa Pañca-lakṣaṇa

Acharya, Mrs. Kala D. : Pañcalāṅgala Vrata

Briggs, Rick : Knowledge Representation in Sanskrit and Artificial Intelligence

Sāmīpya, B. J. Institute of Larning & Research, H. K. Arts College Compound, Ashram Road, Ahmedabad 380009.

Vol. II, No. 1, April-June 1985

Sankalia, H. D. : Bhāratanā Vividha Dharmo ane Sāhityamānī Bhakti (Gujarati)

Wadekar, M. L. : Jyotiṣaśāstramāṁ Devalamuninuṁ Pradāna (Gujarati)

Sandesara, B. J. : Rājaharṣakṛta Nemināṭha Phāga (Gujarati)

Wakankar, S. Y. : Sanskṛta Sāhityamāṁ Varṇita Mughala Gañjīphā (Gujarāti)

Bhatt, Vibhutiben V. : Gujarāta Vidya Sabha ane Bho. Je. Vidyābhavanamām Saṅgrahita British kālīna Khatapatronu Avalokana (Guj.)

Svādhyāya, Oriental Institute, M. S. University of Baroda, Baroda.

Vol. 23, No. 1, Nov. 1985, Dipotsavī V.S. 2041

Shukla, R. M. : Kādambarī nāṁ Keṭalaṁka Arthaghaṭano (Gujarati)

Sankalia, H. D. : Bharatamāṁ Mūrtipūjāno Ugama (Gujarati)

Sandesara, B. J. : Pāṭaṇamāṁ Vāḍī Parśvanāthanā Mandirano Śilālekha tathā Kharataragacchanī Paṭṭāvali (Gujarati)

Desai, M. M. : Sṛṣṭinī Utpattī-Utkrānti viśe Vedāntavicāro ane Maharṣi Arvinda (Gujarati)

Vyasa, Hasmukh : Saurāṣṭramāṁ Jaina Dharma viśe Thoḍuṁ (Gujarati)

No. 2, Feb. 1986, Vasantapañcamī, V.S. 2042

Kakadiya, M. P. : Sanskṛta Nāṭyaśāstramāṁ Nāndī (Gujarati)

Patel, Aruna K. : Rīti Vṛtti ane Kāvyaguṇo ; Kalāvādī Dṛṣṭikoṇa (Guj.)

Shah, Nilanjana S. : Uparūpaka Saṭṭaka viśe Vimarśa (Gujarati)

Dhaki, Madhusudan : Gautamasvāmistavananā Kartā Vajrasvāmī Viśe (Gujarati)

Thaker Jayant P. : Kūṁārīrāṇāno Prabandha (Gujarati)

Jamindar, Rasesh : Gujarātamāṁthī Prāpta Lajjāgaurīnu Aprasiddha Śilpa (Gujarati)

Buch, Hasit H. : Kākāsahebanuṁ Gadya (Gujarati)

Hajarnis, Ravi : Viṣṇunā Matsya-Kūrma Avatāra ane Mūrtividhāna [Gujarātanā Sandarbhamāṁ] (Gujarati)

Joshi, Devadatta : Mahīdāsaracita Karmagītā (Gujarati)

Sri Venkateshwara University Oriental Journal, S.V.U. Silver Jubilee Number, (Supplement) S.V.U. Oriental Research Institute, Tirupati A.P.

Vol. XXIII, Parts 1-2, Jan.-Dec. 1980

Chattopadhyay, Aparna : Intercaste Marriages in Ancient India in the Light of Kathāsaritsāgara

Datta, K.S.R. : The Rukmiṇīpariṇaya of Bellaṁkoṇḍa Rāma Rāya Kavi

Arunachalam, M. : A Chronology of the Āḷvar

Ramamurthi, K. S. : The Nativity of Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita

Sharma, D. D. : Vāsavadattā—The Most Popular and Multidimensional Heroine in Sanskrit Drama

Marulasiddaiah, G.
&
Nagaraja Rao, H. V, : A Note on the Authorship of the Alaṅkāranikaṣa

Matha, S R. : Figures in the Dhammapada

Goyal, S. G : Science in Vedas III

Prasad, E.A.V. : Public Health Engineering in Varāhamitra's Bṛhat Saṁhitā

Voice of Śankara, Adi Śankara Advaita Research Centre, I.E. Rosewood Offices, Nungambakkan High Road, Madras 600 034

Vol. IX, No. 1, May 1984

Kalyanasundara Sastri, V. R. : No Plurality whatsoever Here (Tr. by Dr. A. Balasubramanian from Skt.)

No. 3, Nov. 1984

Śri Jayendra Sarasvati : The Characteristics of Bhakti

Kalyanasundara Sastri : Jiva is Brahman Itself Not different from It (Tr. by Dr. R. Balasubrahmanian)

No. 4, Feb. 1986

Sri Jayendra Sarasvati : The Message of the Gītā

Kalyanasundara Sastri : Difference is not real (Tr. by Dr. R. Balasubramanian)

Vol X, No. 1, May 1985

Sri Jayendra Sarasvati : Bhakti as a Means of Realisation

Suryanarayana Sastri, S. S. ; The Philosophy of Śaṅkara

Guruswami Sastri, V.S.V. : The Dream State and the Deep Sleep State (Tr. into Eng. by J.R.S. Vasan Ramanan)

Kalyanasundara Sastri, V. R. : Mukti, not a State of Stone (Tr. Eng. by Dr. R. Balasubramanian)

No. 2, Aug. 1985

Suryanarayana Sastri, S. S. : The Philosophy of Śaṅkara

Kalyanasundara Sastri : Non-difference is Supreme Identity (Tr. Eng. by Dr. R. Balasubramanian)

No. 3 & 4, Nov. 1985-Feb. 1986

Sri Candrasekharendra Sarasvati : Māyā and Brahman—A Mathematical Interpretation

Suryanarayana Sastri : The Philosophy of Śaṅkara

Mahadevan, T.M.P. : Inquiry into the Five Sheaths

Balasubramanian : The Two Mimāṁsas

Tripathi, R. K. : Advaita Vedānta and Western Thought

Vol. XI, No. 1, May 1986

Mahadevan, T.M.P. : Inquiry into the World of Duality
Balasubramanian, R. : Śaṅkara on Jñānayoga
Ramachandran, T. P. : Rājyoga According to Advaita
Kalyanasudara Sastri, V. R. : Jñani Tvātmaiva Me Matam (Tr. Eng. by Dr. R. Balasubramanian)

No. 2, Aug. 1986

Chatterji, Pritibhushan : The Concept of Liberation and Its Relevance to Philosophy—An Advaita Approach
Veezhinathan, N. : The Problem of Method in Advaita
Krishnan, N. C. : The Doctrine of Māyā
Kalyanasundara Sastri V. R. : Avatāras—Who are they ?

Wiener Zeitschrift, für die Kunde Südasiens und Archiv für Indische Philosophie, Osterreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Kommission fur Sprachen und Kulturen Sudasiens, Kommissionsverlag, E. Brill, Leiden-Kolu, Kommissionverlag Gerold & Co., Wien

Baud XXX, 1986

Tieken, Herman : Textual Problems in an Early Canonical Jaina Text
Saloman, Richard : The Viṣṇu Purāṇa as a Specimen of Vernacular Sanskrit
Falk, Harry : Die Prüfung der Beamten im Arthaśāstra
Laine, James W : Hinduism and the Mahābhārata
Rosu, Arion : Pratiques Magico-religiouses en medecine indienne
Dragonetti, Carman : On Śuddhamati's Pratītyasamutpādahṛdayakārikā and on Bodhicittavivaraṇa
Inami, M. & Tillemans T.J.F : Another Look at the Framewak of the Pramāṇasiddhi Chapter of Pramāṇavārttika
Tillemans T.J.F : Pramāṇavārttika IV (1)
Slaje, Walter : Niḥśreyasam im Alten Nyāya

INDEX INDO-ASIATICUS

POST BOX 11215, CALCUTTA-700 014

Index Indo-Asiaticus : An international based indexing quarterly. Surveys 600 current periodical literature on topics relating to the culture of India and ancient Asia, in all languages [Asian and non-Asian]; & also cumulative indexes to indological journals, to manuscripts & portraits. 1968, Rs. 50 p.a.

Distributors

For subscription write to:
Central News Agency, (P) Ltd., 23/90 Connaught Circus, New Delhi 1
Firma K. L. M. (P) Ltd., 257-B; B. B. Ganguly St., Calcutta 12
International Book House Pvt. Ltd., Indian Mercantile Mansion-extn.,
Madame Cama Road, Bombay 1.

Some Opinions

It will be very helpful to individuals and small libraries ...& to large institutions.

—Journal of Asian Studies—ann arbor 1969.

A very useful piece of work. Index Indo-Asiaticus is of great help to those who study India, as well as those who study history and culture of other Asiatic states. —Prof. Dr. V. V. Balabushevich, USSR Academy of Sciences, Moscow.

Informative index Indo-asiaticus—Dr. J. Rahder, Professor Emeritus, U.S.A.

A very useful compilation of periodical literature on topics relating to the culture of India and ancient Asia.... I am sure the scholars will find the whole scheme attractive. —Dr. Sunitikumar Chatterji, National Professor of India in Humanities & Emeritus Professor of Calcutta University.

Your work..will undoubtedly be useful. —Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Formerly President of the Republic of India.

Each one is stranger than the last, edited by the well-known Calcutta Librarian. —Dr. M. L. P. Patterson in Library Quarterly (Chicago), 1971.

Request

Authors & Publishers Are Requested To Send Their Publications For Inclusion In The Index. This Will Advance The Cause Of Research & Promote Sale Of Learned Journals. S. Chaudhari, Editor, Post Box 11215, Calcutta-700 014

REVIEWS

The Bridge to the Three Holy Cities: The *Sāmānya-praghaṭṭaka* of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa's *Tristhalīsetu* by: Richard Salomon, Pub. by Ms. Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1985, pp. lvi + 524; Price Rs. 175.

The book is the critically edited and translated first section of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa's *Tristhalīsetu* (*Bridge to the Three Holy Cities*), which is an authoritative Sanskrit text on the subjects of *tīrtha* and pilgrimage, written at about the middle of the 16th cent. A.D.

The work *Tristhalīsetu* consists of four sections (*praghaṭṭaka* or *prakaraṇa*), called *Sāmānya* (General), Prayāga, Kāśī and Gayā. The first section i.e. the *Sāmānya Praghaṭṭaka* was published in Benares in 1908 under the title—*Tristhalīsetupraghaṭṭake sarvatīrthavidhipraghaṭṭākhyaḥ prathamo bhāgaḥ*. This text is nowadays rare and is to be found only with great difficulty. The latter three sections (Prayāga, Kāśī and Gayā *prakaraṇas*) were published in the Anandashram Press edition of 1915 (*Anandashram Sanskrit Series* no. 78). The *Sāmānya Praghaṭṭaka* (i.e. the first section) was omitted in this edition. Taking into account the non-availability of this section, the critical edition and translation of it by the author deserve an admiring note.

In the detailed introduction, the author has dealt with several points, concerning the original work of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa as well as the first section of it, critically edited and translated by him. They can be given in short as follows—

(1) The main topics of the first section; the concept of *tīrtha*-s in the original work; the importance of pilgrimage.

(2) Relation of the work to other texts on *tīrtha*; earlier and later texts on *tīrtha*; general pattern in the development of the *tīrtha* literature.

(3) Influence of Mīmāṁsā in the original work.

(4) Author, his family, life and works.

(5) Explanations of some basic terms such as *tīrtha*, *śrāddha* and *tarpaṇa*.

(6) Synopsis of the text critically edited and translated by him.

In the "Critical Apparatus" (pp xxxvii-lvi) which forms part of the Introduction, the author has given the description of the manuscripts, used by him while preparing the present edition.

The text critically edited and translated, being a General Section (*Sāmānya Praghaṭṭaka*) on the *tīrtha*-s, gives general rules regarding the pilgrimages and *tīrtha*-rituals as well as special rules applying to the various *tīrtha*-s in India. The topics dealt with in the text are as follows—

Nature of *tīrtha*-s; secondary *tīrtha*-s, persons authorised to make pilgrimages; varying degrees of benefit from the *tīrtha*-s; *tīrtha*-s as substitutes of different types of penance; auspicious and inauspicious times for pilgrimage; observances to be followed on pilgrimage as well as at the *tīrtha* on arrival; rules to be observed at a *tīrtha* regarding shaving, bathing, offering (to the *Pitṛs*); *tīrtha-śrāddha* and the rules enjoined for it; rulos regarding the throwing of *asthi*-s (remains) in a *tīrtha*; miscellaneous laws of *tīrtha*-s.

Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, the author of the *Tristhalīsetu* has given quotations from several works, while laying down the rules. Many of these quotations have not been identified. Many times the texts cited by him are not extant or the quotations are not found in the extant version of that text. Nearly one-third of the quotations are cited by Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa without mentioning their sources. The translator has taken troubles to locate these quotations in the various relevant texts.

The book has appendices which are helpful to the readers. They are—Index of *tīrtha*-s and other geographical names, of quotations, of *śloka*-s and *mantras*-s; glossary of Sanskrit terms given in the translation; glossary of Mīmāmsā and other technical terms; index of Mīmāṁsā texts; index of *Nyāya*-s.

The translation of the text is in lucid language, suiting the main thought of the work, in which simple and straight-forward expression is needed. There are minor printing errors but they do not mar the value of the work. The critical edition and translation of the *Sāmānya Praghaṭṭaka* was a time-felt need and hence the book commends itself to scholars of religion—both Indian and Comparative-and also of ancient history. The book is a welcome addition to works on Indology.

Deptt. of Sanskrit,
University of Bombay,
Bombay 400 098.

SINDHU S. DANGE

Apabhraṁśa of Hemacandra : Edited with Introduction and Critical and Grammatical Notes by Dr. K. B. VYAS ; Published by Prakrit Text Society, Ahmedabad, pp. 20 + 197 ; price Rs. 8/-

Apabhraṁśa grammar of Hemacandra is the final portion of the 8th Chapter of his monumental work on grammar, viz. *Siddha-Hemacandra* and being valuable for the study of Apabhraṁśa for the student and scholar alike has been edited often—both as a part of Prakrit Grammar (being the 8th chapter of the said work) and as the Apabhraṁśa section separately. Dr. H. C. Bhayani and Prof. K. K. Shastri have edited, several years back, the *Apabhraṁśa sūtras* of Hemacandra with copious notes in Gujarati for Postgraduate students.

Present edition by Dr. K. B. Vyas is remarkable in a way, because it has utilized some rare manuscripts (including one palm-leaf ms.) not noticed nor utilized by the scholars so far. It contains an English Introduction, Critical Edition of the Text, and translation and notes and also the text of the anonymous *Dodhaka Vṛtti* which is a Sanskrit gloss on the verses quoted by Hemacandra as illustrations of rules given in his aphorisms. At the end there is an Index of Apabhraṁśa vocables with their Sanskrit renderings.

This is an edition of the Apabhraṁśa grammar of Hemacandra prepared very carefully and should be useful to all students of older forms of Indo-Aryan languages.

6, Shreyas Society,
Race Course Circle (West),
Baroda.

B. J. SANDESARA

Āndhra tathā Madhurāndhra Bhārati : by PETUKUCHI DAMODAR SHASTRY (in four parts in Hindi,) Pub. Jan Jyoti Prakashan, Rajasumanda, Rajasthan—313326; pp. 806; price Rs. 105

The 1st Part, " contains the Ancient History of South India along the present chaining and matching " the 2nd part " contains the Ancient and Modern Geographical, Social and Cultural Features of Andhra " ; the 3rd Part " contains the various Famous and Respected Personalities of Andhra along with their Past and Present Achievements with history of southern religious pilgrimages." The 4th part " contains the most important scientifical technics of easy education from Hindi to Telegu specially for teaching purpose of Hindi school of North and vice-versa." The above statements were taken as such from the publisher's (Shri Jan Jyoti Prakashan, Rajasthan) printed slip.

In most of the places the author has made statements categorically, without proper references. As it is, there are no references to other authors. There are certain gross mistakes in historical facts presented. In book I (p. 53) the author derives Andhra from Andhaka. He considers that Sātavāhana, Cālukya, Ikṣvāku, Cola, Kākatīya and Yadu are also Andhras. According to him Satakarmi was a *Ṛṣi* (p. 36). It is true that Sātavāhanās, Vengi Cālukyas, Ikṣvākus and Kākatīyas were considered as Āndhras, whereas Colas and Yadus were not Āndhras.

Mohaṇjo daro and Harappan culture is Telugu culture. Indus civilization can be called Telugu civilization (p. 36). These statements are absurd.

Cālukya Pulakeśi and Tailapa Rāja quarrelled with Paramāra Bhoja and Munja (p. 77). It is proved that Kalyāṇi Cālukya Tailapa defeated and killed Munja. Paramāra Bhoja ruled after 1000 A.D., whose contemporaries in Karṇātaka were Jayasimha I and Somesvara I, grandson and great grandson of Taila.

From 7th century A.D. Rajput Yuga started and Rāshtrakūṭas were one among them (p. 77). Whereas, it has been acclaimed by scholars, that a head in charge of a Rāshtra was Rāshtrakuta (Yazdani, Vol. I, p. 249). The author states that Sātavāhana ruler Hala wrote *Gāthā Saptaśatī* in 680-1000 A.D. (p. 77), but it is a well-known fact that Hāla lived in 1st century A.D. and wrote *Gāhā Sattasaī* in Prakrit (*Kāvyamāla Series*). The author further states that Kākatīyas ruled over Lāta Mālawa, Gurjara, Reva, Dakshina Kosala, Kalinga, Kānchi etc. in 1307-1308 A.D. (p.79). Almost all these places were under Alluddin Khilji either directly or indirectly during that time.

In the same book, in the chapter on cities and villages of Andhra, neither the longitude or latitude nor the distance from an important landmark is given. It is neither district-wise nor alphabetical. It is just a list collected at random, without giving important informations about these places. For example, while mentioning Kālahasti (p. 129) the importance of the place being one among the five *liṅgas* (*Pañca liṅgas*) of South India, that is Vāyu *Liṅga* is not mentioned. On the contrary it is mentioned that it is the birth place of the author's father-in-law. Thus in the first part, most of the historical facts are erroneous and the place details are lacking in important information.

In part II, in the chapter on *Andhra ki Kalāyen*, while writing about Nṛtyakalā, there are a lot of commissions and omissions. While writing about Kuchipudi, the author has given in great length about ' Darpan Academy ' whereas the Kendras at Delhi run by Yamini Krishnamurthy, Rajha and Radha Reddy and Swapnasundari are omitted. Kuchipudi dance section is one among the several sections in Darpana Institution. The great master Vembatti Chinna

Sathyam of Madras has been written as Chenna and Sathyam. The author has confused *Bharata nāṭyam* and *Bhāgavata Melā*.

Arranging Vallabhācārya, J. Krishnamurthy, Sathya Sāi Bābā and Dr. Rādhakrishnan, together, is a list of odd combination. Vallabhācārya was the founder of *Puṣṭimārgīya* Vaiṣṇava cult, J. Krishnamurthy, a philosopher, Sathya Sāi Baba, a mystic and Dr. Rādhakrishnan, a great teacher.

The II book covers, Andhra people residing within and outside Andhra. Generally, alphabetical, subject-wise, district-wise or career-wise lists are made. None of these were taken into consideration. The author's knowledge is mainly limited to Andhras living in Gujarat and mostly to Baroda, which covers half of the list. More than a dozen people with Potukuchi surname are enlisted (No. 53, 108 to 118, 234, 273, 429, 443, 433, 494, 508, 511), covering more than thirty pages. People who are not Andhras are also mentioned as Andhras. For example Late Sri C. Sivaramamurthy, internationally known writer, about whom a book can be written, is enlisted just in a single line. Srimathy Lakshmi Nagaswamy who is a Tamilian is also listed. Sri A. Pepalla, is not a Professor in M. S. University, but, recently made a Reader. It seems that the author has only enlisted his relatives, friends and the names copied from the lists published by a few Andhra Samitis of certain places. Even the great Andhra Biochemist, Dr. Yellapragada Subba Rao, on whom pages can be written, was dismissed in three sentences, while smaller personalities have been dealt with in greater details of very little importance.

Several books are available for learning languages. " Learn Telugu in thirty days " (Balaji publications) is a good book. Hence there is nothing much to write about the last book.

As such all the four books are of no great use for scholars, because they know far more correct information on these subjects. Neither they are useful for laymen, since the contents are misleading.

The volume is a great disappointment for the money and time spent on it. The Government of Andhra Pradesh and Tirumala Tirupati Devasthanam, which gave financial aid to this work, must have referred this at the manuscript stage itself, to a group of scholars, to evaluate the contents before allowing it to be published.

SARADHA SRINIVASAN

Department of Archaeology,
M. S. University, Baroda.

Gītā : The Science of Living, by JAYANTILAL S. JARIWALA, Pub. by Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1984, Pages I-XVII + 1-433; Price Rs. 175/-.

The work under review blazes a new trail in so far as it represents a systematic presentation of the contents of the *Gītā*. Grouping the correlated concepts, detailed explanatory comments on important verses in addition to a running commentary on the whole text, epitomising the teachings of the *Gītā* are the salient features of the methodology adopted in the work.

It is admitted that apart from the numerous ancient commentaries by competent *ācāryas* and theologists, there have been many modern attempts by scholars and national leaders at elucidating the central theme of the Song Celestial. The author, nevertheless, aims at communicating the *Gītā*'s message right to the hearts of the masses through a lucid and systematic statement of the issues arising from the modern mode of life of individuals and societies together with their solutions offered by this timeless scripture of humanity, bracing them with illustrations taken from the modern context, since it contains supreme knowledge, adaptable universally, the depth of which remains still unfathomed despite many attempts at getting to its core. The author simply desires to state the result of his prolonged contemplation on this uncommon treatise. His contact with a Saint, Mastānā, an embodiment of spiritual truth has generated conviction about the reality the Lord speaks of, imparting to his observations, the touch of sincerity, born of conviction.

The work is divided into four parts. The first forms the introduction. The second is the section-wise presentation of the contents of the *Gītā*. The third part offers comments on important verses and the fourth briefly summarises the teachings for the benefit of those who have little patience or time at their disposal. The text in Sanskrit (in *Devanāgarī* script) is given as an appendix. It could have more appropriately formed the fifth part, since it is the basis of the foregoing discussion, an organic part of the work.

In the introduction the whole field of religion is surveyed. Religion and Science, though treating subjective and objective aspects of existence, are complementary. Science, with its emphasis on reason, has its legitimate field, the phenomenal world. Religion attempts to grapple the noumenal reality underlying the former, and as such is not amenable to objective investigation. *Gītā*'s place in the development of philosophical thought is determined. It is maintained that the *Gītā* deserves the honour of being accepted as the universal scripture for it successfully charts the path of self-knowledge through the rational mode of self-control. The Self-knowledge, in turn, helps one to anchor himself in the inner spirit and enables him to carry on work in the world from that vintage-point. The watch-word for such spirit-centred life is detachment. This true spirituality is, according to the author, a final, finished product, obtainable through working upon the raw-material of practical life of actions and experiences. This way all actions and in fact one's whole life becomes *yoga*-oriented, the finite self being communed to the Supreme Self, functioning as a medium, as an integrated personality, through which the divine will fulfils itself. This is the natural way to material well-being and spiritual progress, since it harmonizes the opposite pulls of the body and soul, eliminating in the process the possible errors generated by dogmatic over-emphasis on a single aspect of human existence.

The contents of the *Gītā*, grouped topic-wise in the manner of a running exposition, with necessary explanatory notes are presented in the second part. This method facilitates viewing the different topics dealt with during the course of the discourse in their proper perspective.

In the third part, studied comments on important verses are given, differentiating clearly the themes with appropriate captions.

The fourth part epitomizes the results of the foregoing detailed discussion, serving the purpose of short notes referring to the fuller exposition.

The Sanskrit text of the *Gītā* in *Devanāgarī* script is given as an appendix for the benefit of scholars who would wish to refer to the original incidentally.

Index and errata enhance the usefulness of the work. The index, however, could have been made more extensive to cover all the important technical words, subjects and names.

The book is produced with an exquisite get-up that recommends itself spontaneously to the eyes of an earnest reader, and is bound to be received well in the knowledgeable circles.

Oriental Institute,
Baroda-390 002.

R. T. VYAS

A Study of the [illegible] Singh, Pub., K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna, [illegible]
Price : Rs. 45-00.

The work under review is the second edition of the editor's [illegible] prepared on the basis of a photostat copy of a manuscript [illegible] Sankrtyayana from Ngor, Tibet. [illegible] D. Phil. in 1968 from the University of Calcutta. The [illegible] a Buddhist Vinaya Text entitled [illegible] code of conduct for the Śrīghanas of Mahāyāna school. The term Śrīghana designated originally the Buddha and consequently signified a Buddhist monk. It is published under the patronage of the Government of the State of Bihar and is the twenty fourth work in the prestigeous *Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series.*

The Sanskrit text of the work was reconstructed by the editor from the commentary called *Sphuṭārthā.* It was published by the Mahābodhi Society of India, New Delhi, in 1974 and is reproduced here as appendix—VI. The present work is supposed to be a study of the commentary as the title suggests and contains English translation of the commentary with explanatory notes. In the introduction which forms the first chapter the editor has discussed the significance of the title, authorship, date and language followed by a critical analysis of the contents, forming the second chapter. In the third chapter is given the text of the commentary. The editor has emended the text often and the original reading in the photocopy of the manuscript is given in the footnotes. The entries in the upper and lowers margins of the manuscript, though at times erroneous, seem to have been of great help to the editor. Chapter four embodies the translation. The fifth and final chapter contains the notes. The divisions of the book are designated as chapters. The critical analysis of contents could well have formed a part of the introduction. To designate the notes as an independent chapter is uncalled for. Similarly most of the Seven appendixes do not deserve to be called appendixes. For example appendix IV is *Viśeṣaśabdasūcī* and should be called an index of important technical terms. Appendix VII contains dedication in a single small sentence and preface.

The errata running into seven pages speaks of the many typographical errors, many of which are not, indeed, covered in it. " Chapter I " printed on page, 11 should be " chapter II ". This glaring typographical error is not shown in the errata.

The book, however, is a valuable contribution to Buddhist studies and will be received well by the scholars and students of Buddhism in particular and those of Indology in General.

Oriental Institute,
Baroda-390 002

R. T. VYAS

Mokṣa in Jainism According to Umāsvāti, by ROBERT J. ZYDENBOS, Pub., Franz Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden, 1983, pp. I-X + 1-82, Price not mentioned.

The work under review is a slightly enlarged version of the thesis accepted for the doctoral degree by the University of Utrecht, Netherlands. In substance, it is English translation of both the tenth that is final chapter of the *Tattvārtha-sūtra* by Umāsvāti and a Commentary on it, ascribed by the Śvetāmbaras to Umāsvāti himself. But the author assumes, after considering the opinions of Pt. Sukhlal, B. Bhatt, C. Tripathi and Phulchandra and certain contradictions in the text and the Commentary, that the *sūtras* and the *bhāṣya* are not composed by the same author.

It has been maintained by some Indologists that in India all philosophical speculation is a means towards a goal, viz., liberation. Such a goal is not known to Western thought. It has also been maintained by some scholars that for that reason Indian philosophy is essentially "spirital," whereas the Western philosophy is "materialistic", and a mere "play thing of imagination." The author defends the Western position by saying that according to the Western philosophy, it needs to be proved first whether such things as rebirth and the religious goal, liberation from *Saṁsāra*, are at all possible. The aim of the author, to put in his own words, seems to be to understand the all-important concept of liberation and thereby to show that it is a "mere play thing of imagination."

For a momentous project of clarification of this all-important religious goal, in order to facilitate the survey of Indian thought in a proper perspective, the author has chosen to study the concept of liberation in the Jain tradition. The English translation of the tenth chapter of *Tattvārthasūtra* which deals with the topic of liberation and a commentary on it are provided with explanatory notes. An introductory discussion followed by an analysis of the text precedes the translation. Then follow an index and the Sanskrit text.

It is necessary to point out that at certain places in the Sanskrit text erroneous versions are adopted by the author. For instance :—

karmabīje tathā dagdhe nārohati bhavāṅkuraḥ

When the manuscript "D" provides the correct reading "*na rohati*" the adoption of "*nārohati*" is ill-conceived. Similarly :—

karmasaṅgavinirmokṣāttathā siddhigatiḥ smṛtā

In this instance too the Ms. "D" provides the correct reading "*siddha-gatiḥ*"

It may be remarked that for a profound subject like [illegible] authenticity of the concept of liberation it is necessary [illegible] through its comparative study in other Indian tradition[illegible] state of liberation as conceived in India through the [illegible] discursive thought-process. Rather it is the ever-present natural state of the self to be discovered within oneself through complete quiscence of mind and consequent self-transcendence, leading to the revelation of the true indentity of man.

—R. T. VYAS

Oriental Institute,
Baroda-390 002

The *Buddhist Philosophy* as *Represented in Mīmaṁsā—Śloka-Vārttika* by Dr. (Mrs.) VIJAYA RANI, with a Foreward by Dr. G. BHATTACHARYA, Parimal Publications, Delhi/Ahmedabad, First Edition, 1982, pp. xviii + 264, Price : Rs. 100-00.

Kumārila Bhaṭṭa occupies an important position in the history of Indian philosophy in general and in the history of Pūrvamīmāṁsā school in particular and his work : " *Mīmāṁsā-Śloka-Vārttika* " : occupies an important place in the galaxy of works on the Pūrvamīmāṁsā school.

The book under review is the research-work that earned the Ph.D. degree of the Kurukshetra University to Dr. Mrs. Vijaya Rani in 1977 (Preface, p. xi).

It is quite well-known that the Śāstraic texts contain in the presentation of the *pūrvapakṣa* some of the important points/aspects of the doctrines of the school of philosophy under refutation. In this particular case, as the authoress states, the treatises " of non-Buddhist Philosophy, especially those belonging to the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika and the Pūrvamīmāṁsā schools contain vast material related to the Buddhist Philosophy. They give a store of information regarding Buddhist doctrines which they propose to refute ".... (Preface, p. xi). And in this context it will not be out of place to quote Dr. Satkari Mukerjee who observes that " there are good many Brahmanical writers who possessed first hand knowledge of Buddhist philosophical works and who tried to criticise the Buddhist position on fair grounds " (*Buddhist Philosophy oj Universal Flux*, p. 275, fn. 1, quoted, *ibid.*, p. 230). A large part of that work (*i.e. Mīmāṁsā-Śloka-Vārttika*, bracket ours) is devoted to the refutation of Buddhism " (Preface, p. xi). It is to be noted that the present work is one of the few works wherein the Buddhist philosophy is treated on the basis of the non-Buddhist works.

The study is presented in the following eight chapters :

Chapter I : The Buddhist Philosophy and the *Mīmāṁsā-Śloka-Vārttika.*
Chapter II : The Buddhist Theory of *Pramāṇa.*

Chapter III : Theory of Validity of cognition (*Prāmāṇyavāda*) and the Buddhists.

Chapter IV : Dependent Origination and the Theory of Flux.

Chapter V : The Buddhist Theory of No-Soul (*Anātmavāda*).

Chapter VI : The Doctrine of the Non-Existence of World. (*Bāhyārthabhaṅgavāda*)

Chapter VII : *Apoha* : The Buddhist Theory regarding the Meaning of World

Chapter VIII : Contribution of Kumārila's *Ślokavārttika* to the Buddhist Philosophy.

These chapters are further divided into sections.

There are three appendices, *viz.* Appendix A dealing with " Bibliography ", Appendix B dealing with a " List of Verses of the *Śloka-Vārttika* used in this book " and Appendix C dealing with (i) Name-Index and (ii) Subject-Index.

The book is prefixed with the blessings of Dr. D. N. Shastri, a "Foreword" by Dr. Gopika Mohan Bhattacharya and an " Introduction " by Dr. Shrinivas Shastri and the author's preface. There is a list of abbreviations followed by contents.

The authoress while evaluating Kumārila's presentation of the Buddhist philosophy concludes that " the study of the non-Buddhist treatises like *Mīmāṁsā-Śloka-Vārttika* is of great value from the view-point of the Buddhist philosophy. Scholars of modern age have also accepted this fact ". (*ibid.*, p. 229).

It is happy to note that the authoress has documented the thesis—now the book—richly in support of her statements.

It is wished that misprints noted and not noted in the " Errata " will be revised in the second edition of this present work.

Dr. Vijaya Rani deserves our hearty congratulations for the publication of this " serious study " and we look forward to have many more publications from her pen in the years to come. The publisher also deserves our hearty praises for the publication of this work. It is hoped the present work will find a useful place in the libraries of universities, research-institutes and colleges.

S. G. KANTAWALA

Faculty of Arts
Oriental Institute
Baroda-390 002

Indian Kāvya Literature Vol. I; *Literary Criticism*, Price : Rs. 40/-, First edition : 1972, pp. xx + 281; Vol. II : *Origins and Formations of the Classical Kāvya*, Price : Rs. 65/-, First Edition, 1974, pp. 1—393; Vol. III : *The Early Medieval Period* (Śūdraka to Viśākhadatta), Price : Rs. 65/-, First Edition, 1977, pp. 1-307; Vol. IV : *The Ways of Originality* (Bāṇa to Dāmodaragupta), Price : Rs. 175/-, First Edition : 1983, pp. xiv + 641, by A. K. WARDER; Published by Motilal Banarsidas, Bunglow Road, Delhi-110 007 :

Sanskrit literature deals with various departments of knowledge and therein the *Kāvya*-literature is very rich and extensive and it deals with several forms of literature. Several histories of Sanskrit literature have been written by eminent scholars of the West and the East, *e.g.* Max Müller, Weber, A. A. Macdonell, A. B. Keith, M. Winternitz, S. N. Dasgupta and S. K. De, Krishnamachariar, Krishna Chaitanya, J. Gonda and others.

Herè is one more welcome addition to the galaxy of histories of Sanskrit literature, *viz.* " *Indian Kāvya-litarature* " planned in seven volumes by A. K. Warder, " as a comprehensive study of the literature (*Kāvya*) of India, the poetry, drama and fiction in the light of classical Indian literary criticism " (Flap I to Vol. IV). According to him " previous publications on Indian literature in Western languages have at best sketched its history (*i.e.* attempted to clarify the chronology) and at worst given extremely misleading judgements on its nature ", (Vol. I, Preface, p. vi) and hence " a new evaluation of Indian literature is overdue " (*ibid.*, Preface p. viii). " The main purpose of this work is ", as the author states, " Sanskrit literary criticism, evaluating a great tradition of literature which upto now has remained practically unknown to all but a few specialists in Sanskrit " (*ibid.*, Preface, p. vii). In this work he proposes to have the readers " the direct and positive enjoyment of literature " (*ibid.*, Preface, p. *viii*). In the four volumes under review with a fresh approach he covers the topics as outlined below :

The Volume I : " *Literary Criticism* " has eight chapters, a bibliography and an index. In the eight chapters the author discusses *Kāvya* and languages, Indian Aesthetics, Indian Dramaturgy : the construction of plays, Indian poetics, the literary forms : the drama, epic and lyric poetry, biography and the novel (including the *campū* and short story), the audience and the readers of *Kāvya* and its social functions and the writers. In the preface the author discussess the need and purpose of a new fresh history of literature and the approach and the attitude adopted in writing this present book. It may be noted that the author has adopted the system of using ' + ' (plus) for ' A.D. ' and ' — ' (minus) for B.C. (*Vide ibid.*, p. xvi), thus " ' — 257 means 257 B.C. ' " and " ' + 375 means '

" A.D. 375 " (*Vide ibid.*, p. xvii). Following this he writes *c* — 900 to — 750 (*vide ibid.*, p. 4). One would like to suggests here the sign ' ≈ ' for *c* [= *circa i.e.* about (with date)]; thus it may be illustrated as follows :

≈ — 900 to — 750 = *c*. 900 B.C. to 750 B.C.

The Vol. II : " *Origins and Formation of the Classical Kāvya* " : has 11 chapters (chapters ix — xix) and an index. In these 11 chapters the following topics are dealt with :

Pre-*Kāvya* literature : the Veda; the Epic tradition : Itihāsa, the origins of the *Kāvya* movement (*c.* — 500), new techniques in poetry and contemporary trends in dramatic and narrative prose in Pali (*c.* — 450 to — 200), the earliest *Kāvya*-literature in Sanskrit (c. — 400 to—150); Vālmīki, the novel *c.* — 100; Guṇāḍhya, the fully developed *Kāvya* epic and drama in the + 1; Aśvagosa, Mahārāṣṭrī *Kāvya* in + 2 : especially the lyric : Sātavahana, Pādalipta, Vimala, Sanskrit lyric and prose in the + 2 : Māṭṛceṭa and Śūra, drama in the + 2 : Bhāsa and Bhāsa's contemporaries, especially Bodhāyana, Vararuci, Īśvaradatta.

The Volume III : " *The Early Medieval Period* (Śūdraka to Viśākhadatta) " : has ten chapters (chapters xx—xxix), an index, corrections to Vols. I & II and additional notes to Vols. I and II. In these ten chapters the following topics are dealt with :

Drama in the + 3 : Śūdraka and contemporary lyric poetry, prose in the + 3 and + 4, Sarvasena and epic, dramatists of the + 4 and other developments in *Kāvya*, Meṇṭha, fictions of about the + 5, Kālidāsa, Pravarsena, Śyāmilaka and Saṁghadāsa, Amarūka, Bhāravi, Subandhu (II), *Kāvya* in the + 6, and Viśākhadatta.

The Volumes IV : " *The Ways of Originality* (Bāṇa to Dāmodaragupta)": has eight chapters (chapters xxx—xxxvii), author's preface, additional bibliography for Vol. IV, and an index. In these eight chapters the following topics are dealt with :

Bāṇa, contemporaries of Bāṇa, the + 7 in other parts of India, Daṇḍin, Tamil *Kāvya*, Mātrarāja [Mā(y)urāja], Kumāradāsa, Bhavabhūti, Yaśovarman, Vākapatirāja, Kamalāyudha, Keśaṭa, Vijjikā and others, and the novel in the 8th century A.D., *e.g. Līlāvaī* (Skt. *Līlāvatī*) *etc.*

One of the features of the present work " as compared with other books in English is that the literature (is) presented and discussed from the point of view of Indian tradition itself " (Flap I to Volume II). The treatment of the various problems and topics and illustrations in English translation, it is hoped, would be useful to the students of comparative literature.

The treatment is lucid and makes a pleasant reading. The book is neatly printed. The author deserves our hearty congratulations and we look forward to have many more scholarly works from his pen. The publisher deserves our hearty commendations. It is hoped that these volumes will find a useful place in the libraries of universities, research-institutions and colleges.

Faculty of Arts/
Oriental Institute, Baroda

S. G. KANTAWALA

OBITUARY

Prof. Dr. P. M. Modi

Dr. Prataprai M. Modi who expired on 11-8-86 was a great scholar and renowned Sanskritist.

Born in Bhavnagar on 9-2-1898 he passed the Matriculation examination in 1916 securing first class and first rank. Then he joined Shamaldas College Bhavnagar and Gujarat College, Ahmedabad and passed the B.A. Examination of the University of Bombay with second class in 1920. On securing the Bhavanagar state scholarship, he joined Central Hindu College of Benaras Hindu University and passed the M. A. exam. with flying colours in 1923.

He then went to Germany to join the Kiel University for doctorate studies and earned the Ph.D. degree with an "excellent" predicate for his thesis—"*Akṣara : A forgotten chapter in the history of Indian philosophy*".

As a student he secured several prizes, medals and scholarships for his meritorious performance. He was awarded, Sujña Gokulji Zala Vedānta Prize in 1926 for his work—"*Translation and interpretation of Siddhāntabindu of Madhusūdana Saraswatī*".

He also secured twice 'Sheth Todarmal Śuddhādvaita Vedānta Prize' once in 1960 and then in 1961 for his comparative study of the Śuddhādvaita School on one hand and the Kaṭha as well as Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad on the other.

He was also awarded Dr. K. G. Naik Gold Medal in 1960 for his research work viz. "*Bhagavadgītā : Eka Abhinawa Dṛṣṭibindu* (In Gujarati).

He was also conferred the certificate of Honour in Sanskrit in 1967 by the Government of India.

He joined Shamaldas College Bhawanagar in 1923 and retired as a professor and principal of that college in 1953. Afterwards he was invited to teach and guide Ph.D. students in different colleges at different places in India.

Versatile scholar as he was, he guided the Ph.D. students in many branches of Indology.

He was also invited to deliver lectures at a number of Institutes in India.

Following are the wellknown books written by him :

(1) *Translation and interpretation of Siddhāntabindu of Madhusūdana Saraswaī* (1929).

(2) *Akṣara : A forgotten chapter in the history of Indian philosophy* (1932).

(3) *Hindu Dharmanā Mūlatattvo* (In Gujarati).

(4) *Śrī—Rāmānujācārya* (In Gujarati).

(5) *A critique of the Brahmasūtra, part* I & II (1943 and 1956).

(6) *Bhagavadgītā : A fresh Approach* (1955).

(7) *Bhagavadgītā : Eka Abhinava Dṛṣṭibindu* (In Gujarati) (1959).

(8) *Bhagavadgītā : Translated in Gujarati* (1964).

(9) *Gītā no artha kevi rīte karavo* (In Gujarati) (1974).

Moreover he has translated Aṇubhāṣya of Vallabhācārya and Bhagavadgītā in English.

His works were commended by celebrated scholars and savants of Indology both oriental and occidental.

Apart from books he has also written several research articles in English and Gujarati published in wellknown research Journals all over India.

Right from 1927 upto 1965 he attended the sessions of All India Oriental conference and presented papers on varied subjects.

Prof. Dr. P. M. Modi would be admirably remembered by the Sanskritists all over the world.

May his pious soul attain final beatitude (*Mukti*) with divine grace.

UMA DESHPANDE

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

1. *The Style of Bāna* : by Robert A. Hueckstedt, pubd. by University Press of American Inc., 4720 Boston Way, Lanham, MD 20706-99900, pp. 228, Price: $ 26.00 (Library binding), $ 12.75 (Paper text).
2. *The Paribhāsās in the Śrautasūtras* : by Samiran Chandra Chakrabarti, pubd. by Shyamapada Bhattacharya Sanskrit Pustak Bhandar, 38, Bidhan Sarani, Calcutta-700 006, pp. xviii + 214, Price: Rs. 150-00.
3. *Mythological and Ritual Symbolism* : by Dipak Bhattacharya, pubd. by as above, pp. x + 242, Price: Rs. 80-00.
4. *The Ritual functions and Significance of Grasses in the Religion of the Veda* : by J. Gonda, pubd. by North-Holland Publishing Comp., Amsterdam/Oxford/New York, pp. 260, Price: 160-00 (DFL).
5. विदर्भ संशोधन मंडळ वार्षिक १९८५ : ed. by S. M. Kulkarni, pubd. by S. G. Kolarkar, Director, Vidarbha Samsodhan Mandal, West High Court Road, Nagpur-440 001, pp. 6 + 220, Price: Rs. 15-00.
6. *Kavīndrakalpadruma of Kavīndrācārya Sarasvati* : ed. by R. B. Athavale, pubd. by The Asiatic Society of Bombay, Town Hall, Bombay, pp. xxxii + 86, Price: Rs. 22-00.
7. *M. M. Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri Birth-Centenary Commemoration Volume* (Part 2) : ed. by S. S. Janaki, pubd. by The Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute, 84, Royapettah High Road, Madras-600 004, pp. xliii-320, Price: Rs. 95-00.
8. *Monastery and Guild Commerce under the Salavahanas* : by Himanshu Prabha Ray, pubd. by R. D. Dayal, Oxford University Press, YMCA Library Building, Jai Singh Road, New Delhi-110 001, pp. 258, Price: Rs. 150-00.
9. संस्कृत कविता की लोकधर्मी परंपरा : by Radhavallabh Tripathi, pubd. by Sanskrit Parishad, Sagar Vishva Vidyalaya, Sagar (M.P.), pp. 99, Price: Rs. 30-00.
10. *Vaisnavism in Indian Arts and Culture* : by Ratan Parimoo, pubd. by Book and Books, C-4/A/20A, Janakpuri, New Delhi-110 058, pp. 468-(67 photo pictures), Price: Rs. 630-00.
11. सारस्वती सुषमा प्रथम खण्डः & द्वितीय खण्ड : ed. and pubd. by Bhagirath Prasad Tripathi, Director, Sampurnananda Sanskrit Vidyalaya, Varanasi, pp. Vol. I 152 + 116, Vol. II 153 to 350 + 24 + 142, Price: Rs. 10-00 (Annual Subscription).
12. *Narmasaptaśatī* : by Bhagirath Prasad Tripathi, pubd. by Vagyogacetanapitham, B.3/131A, Shivala, Varanasi-221 001, pp. 112-296, Price: Rs. 45-00.

Publications of M/s. Motilal Banarsidas, 41 *U.A.*, *Bangalow Road, Jawahar Nagar, Delhi*-110 007.

13. *The Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus* : by Brajendranath Seal, pp. 314, Price: Rs. 100-00.
14. *Chinese thought* (*An Introduction*) : by Donald H. Bishop, pp. vi + 484, Price: Rs. 175-00.
15. *Hymns from the Golden Age* : by David Frawley, pp. xii-256, Price: Rs. 125-00.
16. *The Yogasūtras of Patañjali on Concentration of Mind* : Ta. by K. D. Prithipaul, pp. xxvi-220, Price: Rs. 110-00 (Cloth), Rs. 75-00 (Paper).

Publications of M/s. Crescent Publishing House, F-D-56, New Kavinagar, Ghaziabad (U.P.)

17. *Some Graphical Purāṇic Texts on Brahmā* : by Mohammad Israil Khan, pp. 142 + viii Plates, Price: Rs. 70-00.
18. *Brahmā in the Purānas* : by Mohammad Israil Khan, pp. 156 + xxxviii Plates, Price: Rs. 90-00.
19. संरकृत-नाट्य-सिद्धान्त के अनालोचित पक्ष : by Mohammad Israil Khan, pp. 80 + 10, Price: Rs. 60-00.
20. संस्कृत-साहित्यमें सरस्वतीकी कतिपय झाँकीयाँ : by Mohammad Israil Khan, pp. 16 + 128 + 16 Plates, Price: Rs. 100-00.
21. संस्कृत-शोध लेखमाला : by Mohammad Israil Khan, pp. 16 + 160, Price: Rs. 120-00.

Publications of Sri Satguru Publications, Indological and Oriental Publishers, First Floor, 40/5, *Shakti Nagar, Delhi*-110 007.

22. *Studies in Post Śaṁkara Dialectics* : by Ashutash Bhattacharya, pp. xxii + 322, Price: Rs. 150-00.
23. *Between Cultures*: *Essays on Literature, Language and Education* : by D.C.R.A. Goonetilleke, pp. xii + 192, Price: 120-00.
24. *The Logic of the Intermediate Causal Link* : by V. N. Jha, pp. xxiv + 73, Price: Rs. 75-00.
25. *Upaniśad Vākya-Mahākośa* (*Vol. I*) : by S. Gajanand Shambhusandhale, pp. 24-352, Price: Not printed.
26. *Upaniśad Vakya-Mahākośa* (*Vol. II*) : by S. Gajanand Shambhusandhale, pp. 8 + 352 to 724, Price: Not printed.

OUR LATEST MONUMENTAL PUBLICATIONS

RAJPUT PAINTING : 2 Vols.—ANAND K. COOMARASWAMY, —with a Foreword by KARL J. KHANDALAVALA
pp. 108 *text.* 7 *Multi-coloured plates,* 96 *plates, Delhi,* 1976 *Cloth Rs.* 500
A valuable guide to understand Rajput Painting of the 14th Century A.D.; the book portrays the popular religious motifs and offers information on Hindu Customs, Cstumes and Architecture.

A HISTORY OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY : 5 Vols.—S. N. DASGUPTA
pp. 2,500: *Delhi,* 1975: *Rs.* 200
A comprehensive study of Philosophy in its historical perspective. The author traces the origin and development of Indian Philosophy to the very beginnings, from Buddhism and Jainism, through monistic dualistic and pluralistic systems that have found expression in the religions of India.

THE HINDU TEMPLE : 2 Vols.—STELLA KRAMRISCH
pp. 308, 170 (*text*) + 81 *plates, Delhi,* 1976, *Cloth Rs.* 250
The work explains the types of the spiritual significance of the Hindu Temple architecture, traces the origin and development of the same from the Vedic fire altar to the latest forms, discusses the superstructure, measurement, proportion and other matters related to temple architecture.

TAXILA : 3 Vols.—SIR JOHN MARSHALL
pp. 420, 516, 246 *plates, Delhi,* 1975, *Cloth Rs.* 400
The book records the political and cultural history of N. W. India (500 B.C.—A.D. 500), the development of Buddhism, the rise and fall of political powers—Aryans, Greeks, Sakas etc. and illustrates the archaeological remains by 246 photographs.

JAIN AGAMAS : Volume 1 Acaranga and Sutrakrtanga (Complete)
Ed. by MUNI JAMBU VIJAYAJI, *pp.* 786: *Delhi,* 1978, *Cloth Rs.* 120
The volume contains the Prakrit Text of the two agamas, Exposition by Bhadrabahu in Prakrit, the Sanskrit Commentary by Śilāṅka, Introduction Appendices etc. by Muni Jambu Vijayaji Maharaja.

ANCIENT INDIAN TRADITION AND MYTHOLOGY (in English translation) (Mahāpurāṇas)—General Editor: PROF. J. L. SHASTRI. *App. In Fifty Volumes Each Vol. Rs.* 50 *Postage Extras pp.* 400 *to* 500 *each Vol.: Clothbound with Gold Letters and Plastic Cover.* In this series 12 Vols. have been published: Clothbound with Gold letters. Vols. 1-4 Śiva Purāṇa; Vols. 5-6 Liṅga Purāṇa, Vols. 7-11 Bhāgavata Purāṇa, Vol. 12 Garuda Purāṇa (Part I).

INDIA AND INDOLOGY: Collected Papers of PROF. W. NORMAN BROWN—Ed. by PROF. ROSANE ROCHER: *pp.* 38 + 304, *Cloth Rs.* 190
The book contains important contributions of Prof. W. Norman Brown to Indology: Vedic Studies and Religion, fiction and folklore, art and philology, the book contains a biographical sketch of Prof. Norman Brown and a bibliography of his writings.

ENCYCLOPAEDIA OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHIES: Ed. KARL H. POTTER *Vol. I Bibliography. pp.* 811, *Rs.* 80, *Vol. II Nyāya Vaiseṣika, pp.* 752, *Rs.* 150
This is an attempt by an international team of scholars to present the contents of Indian Philosophical texts to a wider public. Vol. I contains the Bibliography of the works on Indian Philosophies. Vol. II gives a historical resume, nature of a philosophical system and summaries of works beginning from Kaṇāda.

SERINDIA : *Demy Quarto, Vols. I-III Text, Appendices, Indices, Illustrations* 545, (*pp.* 1-1580): *Vol. IV Plates* 175, *Vol. V Maps* 94 (Shortly)
This book is based on a report of explorations carried out by Sir Aurel Stein in Central Asia and Western most China and contains scholarly analysis of the finds by experts in their respective fields.

PLEASE WRITE FOR OUR DETAILED CATALOGUE
MOTILAL BANARSIDASS
Indological Publishers and Booksellers
Bungalow Road, Jawahar Nagar, DELHI-110007 (INDIA

Statement about the ownership and other particulars about newspapers

JOURNAL OF THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE

(To be published in the first issue every year after the last day of February)

FORM IV

(See Rule 8)

1 *Place of the Publication* : Oriental Institute,
M. S. University of Baroda, Baroda

2 *Periodicity of its Publication* : Three Months—Dipotsavī, Vasantapañcamī, Akṣayatṛtīyā and Janmāṣṭamī

3 *Printer's Name* : Dr. S. G. Kantawala
(Whether citizen of India ?) Yes
(If foreigner, state the country of origin)
Address : "Shri-Ram" Kantareshvar Mahadev's
Pole, Bajwada, Baroda-390 001

4 *Publisher's Name* : Dr. S. G. Kantawala
(Whether citizen of India ?) Yes
(If foreigner, state the country of origin)
Address : "Shri-Ram" Kantareshvar Mahadev's
Pole, Bajwada, Baroda-390 001

5 *Editor's Name* : Dr. S. G. Kantawala
(Whether citizen of India ?) Yes
(If foreigner, state the country of origin)
Address : "Shri-Ram" Kantareshvar Mahadev's
Pole, Bajwada, Baroda-390 001

6 *Names & addresses of Individuals who own the newspaper and partners or shareholders holding more than one percent of the total capital* The M. S. University of Baroda, Baroda

I, S. G. Kantawala, hereby declare that the particulars given above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

S. G. Kantawala
Signature of Publisher

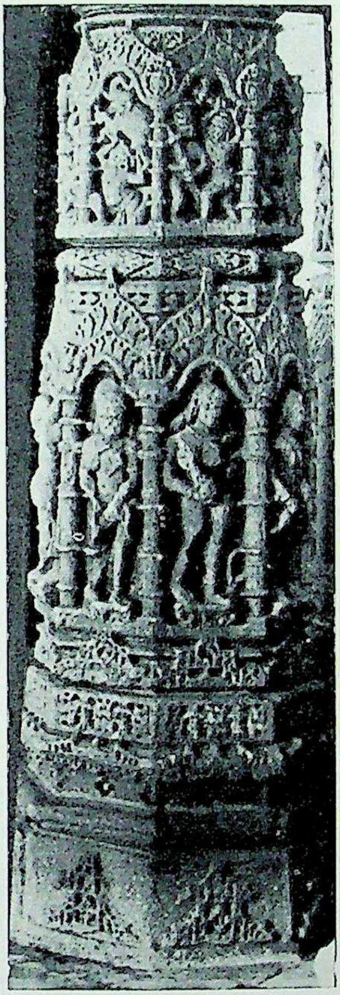


Fig. 5
Eastern Pillar of the
Sabhāmaṇḍapa

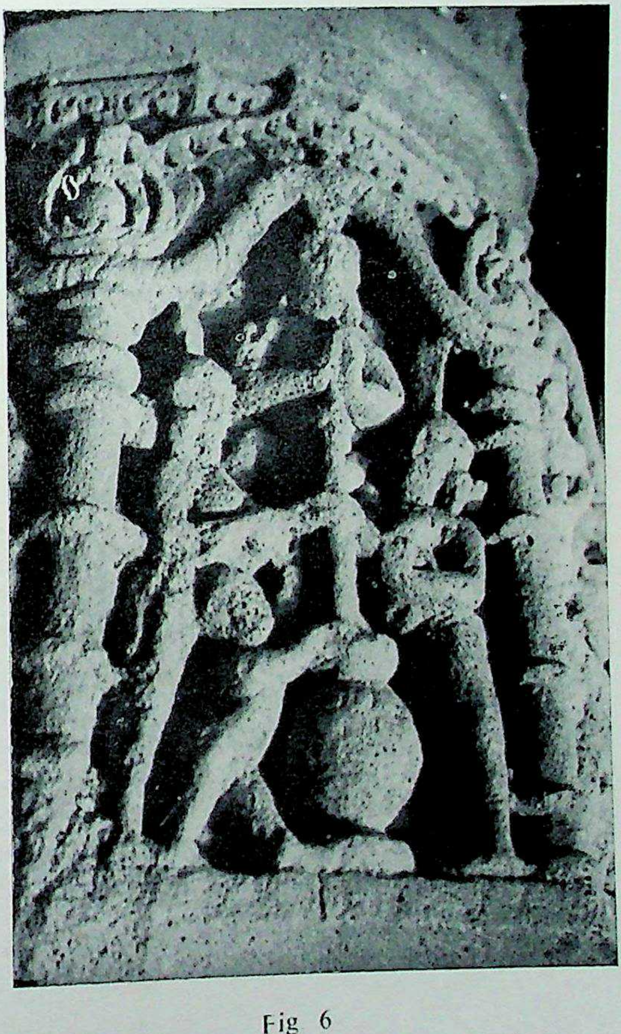


Fig 6
A Pillar-detail of Nṛtyamaṇḍala, Moḍherā.
(Refer to Dr. M. N. Pd. Tiwari's article)

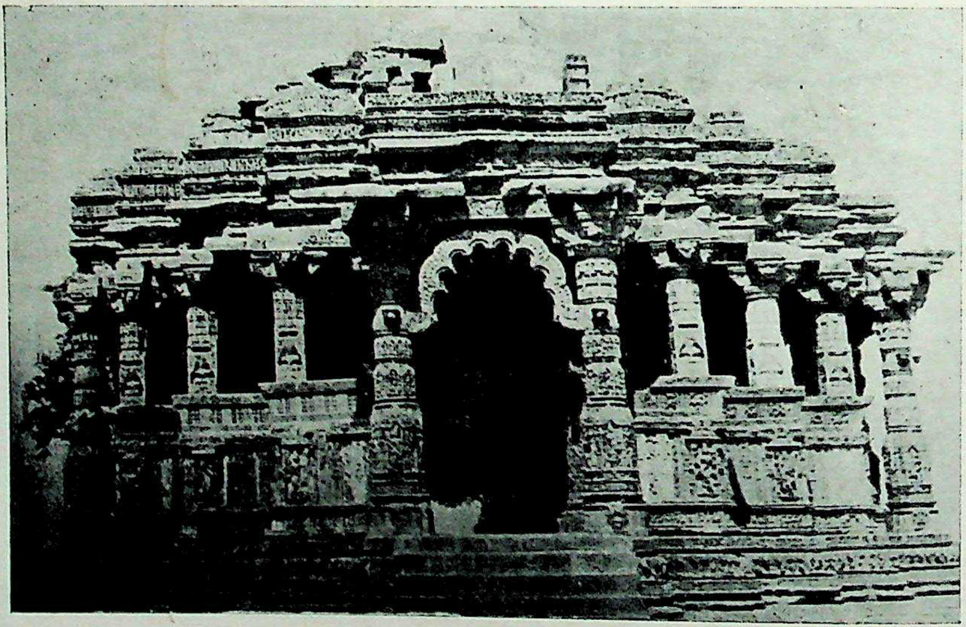


Fig. 1
Sun Temple at Moḍherā
(Refer to Dr. M. N. Pd. Tiwari's article)
[Copyright : American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi]